The Outlook

JULY 16, 1919

In the next issue of The Outlook there will appear an article entitled "The Hermit of Amerongen," by the distinguished author of "The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse," Vincent Blasco-Ibañez. The authorship, the subject, and the manner of treatment all make this article peculiarly noteworthy and timely. All who have read "The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse"—and almost every one has read that remarkable book—will remember its keen study of the German national character and Germany's intolerable attitude toward the rest of the world. In the article we have a scathing analysis of the guilt and crimes of the Kaiser, "the chief offender of the war," as Ibañez calls him. That the Kaiser should go unpunished seems incredible. To quote the article once more: "We who have seen his work close at hand, the greatest mass of atrocities since the ravages of Attila, cannot quietly endure seeing the deviser and executor of these crimes live like a middle-class gentleman spending his summer in the country, suffering no other punishment than his own rage at the loss of his huge, absurd power and at his shameful flight." Just now, when the question of trying the Kaiser is pressingly under discussion, the article will clear men's minds of false sympathy and apathy.—THE EDITORS.

THE WEEK

THE PEACE CONFERENCE

WITH the signing of the Treaty of Versailles and the departure of President Wilson for his homeward voyage, happily completed last week with a welcome in New Jersey and in New York City, the Peace Conference seems to have passed its climax. As a matter of fact, however, some of the most difficult problems of the Conference remain to be solved. On its hands are still Austria, sadly reduced and in trouble; Hungary, internally upset and externally hostile; Russia, the key to future peace; Turkey, still a thorn in Europe's side; Poland, a perplexing, not unpromising, and very essential experiment; the Balkans, quite as turbulent as ever; and other problems which it would be tiresome even to catalogue. It has been said that there are twenty-three wars in progress at present. That of itself is a statement of the continued task of the Peace Conference which we think of as being ready to adjourn!

Turkey's representatives who were sent to Paris and pleaded for something more than the mere continuance of Turkey as a nominal nation did not make any very great impression. Their plea that Turkey's offenses were committed by a government rather than by the people, and therefore should be forgotten or at least condoned, received the answer that every such plea should evoke. There would never be any way of holding a nation responsible for misdeeds if, when its plans went awry, it could conveniently escape the consequences by sloughing off its government and slipping on a new one. Nations must be held responsible for the governments they create or endure.

The Treaty with Poland has been published, and with it a letter of explanation addressed to Poland by the Chairman of the Peace Conference, M. Clemenceau. This Treaty requires of Poland certain acknowledgments concerning her responsibility, not only for matters lying outside of her domain, but for her course in affairs which most nations regard as purely domestic. For example, she is required to make promises concerning her treatment of peoples not Polish in origin or language, and particularly of the Jews. In M. Clemenceau's letter it is explained that this is not an unprecedented requirement in the erection of a new nation. Poland must not think that these stipulations are put into the Treaty through any want of confidence in her intentions. It is necessary to put these in because the Powers that have created Poland and have undertaken to preserve her integrity so long as she complies with the requirements of the Treaty have assumed a trusteeship for the peoples they have assigned to the Government of Poland, and therefore must have assurances in writing.

Italy is going through an experience of disturbance which is capable of consequences serious to other nations besides herself. It is not altogether due to the economic privations brought on by the war; but is partly due to the effect of unfortunate circumstances, for which the United States, France, and England are not wholly without responsibility, tending to make Italy feel her isolation from her allies. There is no immediate danger that Italy will be thrown into Germany's arms; but what has happened has made it very difficult for the Italians to escape from the renewal of the political and economic influence of Germany from which they so largely freed themselves when they entered the war.

The most sensational news from the Peace Conference last week came, paradoxically, not from the Peace Conference, but from the British House of Commons. It was the announcement made by Premier Lloyd George that the Kaiser was going to be put on trial in London. This announcement has elicited anew the objection, expressed in various forms, that trying the Kaiser would make a martyr of him. Of course this objection holds true of the trying of any gangster. No police or court can prevent a gang and all who sympathize with the gang from making a martyr of its captured and convicted leader. Of course the evil in this is not prevented by letting the leader go scot free. It is only prevented by changing the character of the gang, or at least by making the sympathizers with the gang ashamed of themselves. The first step to that end is the infliction of the justly deserved penalty.

THE VOYAGE OF THE R-34

The troubling conditions of clouds, thunder-storms, and perplexing air currents which delayed the R-34 in her memorable voyage of 3,130 sea miles from Scotland to Long Island were happily offset at the end by a favorable wind which wafted her quietly to her prepared landing-place just when it seemed that outside assistance was necessary. Most people read with surprise that the dirigible's fuel was all but spent, and that she had left for her five engines only gasoline enough for a few hours' additional run, if it had been needed. But when we learn that the full weight of the dirigible and its load is 112,720 pounds, and realize how continuously the engine had to fight against adverse conditions, we begin to understand how it was that even

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the almost 5,000 gallons of gasoline carried were needed.

The adverse conditions encountered and vanquished added to the value of the accomplishment, the first transatlantic voyage of an airship lighter than air, for the navigators had unexampled opportunity for studying the difficulties of over-ocean sailing, and already illuminating discussion has followed the account of the observations made on this remarkable voyage. General Maitland, who sailed on the R-34 as an official observer for the British Air Ministry, is quoted as saying that he believes that in a few years we shall see regular commercial service between England and the United States by dirigibles, and that the future may develop an airship five times as big as the R-34, capable of making one hundred miles an hour, and with a lifting capacity of two hundred tons.

It is hard to visualize such a future monster of the air. The R-34 is longer than the height of the Singer Building and her measurements are those of a big ocean steamship. Imaginine an airship five times as large. It would be truly stupendous.

The summer of 1919 will assuredly go down in history as a marvelous period in aeronautical accomplishment, for the Atlantic has three times been crossed by aircraft, and three widely different types have shared the victorious record—the airplane, the seaplane, and now the gigantic dirigible.

THE MONSTER DIRIGIBLE

The R-34 is the largest aircraft in the world. Not long ago it was on the point of beginning a transatlantic flight when orders suddenly sent it eastward to the Baltic. That voyage was a demonstration of the Allies' readiness to advance into Germany if the Treaty of Peace was not signed by delegates of the German Government.

It is known that this airship and at least one other of the same type had long been under construction by the British Government as an answer to the Zeppelin. It was to have carried eight guns and to have been capable of dropping bombs weighing five thousand pounds. A formidable military weapon, indeed!

The R-34 is almost 650 feet in length and a little over 78 feet in diameter, has five cars connected by a deck, is propelled by five engines of 250 horse-power each, with a total horse-power of 1,550 (less than that of the NC-4), and has a maximum speed of about sixty miles an hour. She holds 1,600,000 cubic feet of hydrogen gas. Preparations on a large scale had been made to receive her at Mineola, Long Island. The total time consumed was 108 hours. Her course was from East Fortune, Scotland, to Newfoundland, thence over Nova Scotia, and thence to Long Island. Her commander is Major G. H. Scott. She carried thirty officers, crew and passengers, one stowaway, and a cat. On another page will be found a group of pictures relating to the R-34.

ANNA HOWARD SHAW

Of few leaders in the struggle for woman suffrage can it be said, as it may of Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, who died on July 2, that she had been an active participant in that struggle from pioneer days until its victory in a large number of States and, in the belief of its advocates, the near approach of National triumph. When Dr. Shaw's friend Susan B. Anthony became the head of the National Woman's Suffrage Association, the women she led were widely regarded as a little band of theorists, fanatics, or plain cranks; when Dr. Shaw succeeded to the presidency in 1906 (Miss Anthony died in 1904 and Mrs. Catt held the office for two years), the movement had assumed importance and had scored many successes; under her own leadership twelve new States were added to the suffrage map, and the ratification of the Amendment, framed originally by Miss Anthony and this year approved by Congress, was under way. Dr. Shaw's speeches, her writings, and her personal influence had much weight in this change of public opinion.

And it was not only what Dr. Shaw was, but what she was not, that availed. She avoided rant and sensationalism, she thoroughly disapproved of violence and illegal demonstrations, she was a patriotic American, a lover of peace but an enemy to German insolence and lawlessness. As a speaker she was persuasive rather than objurgatory, with a keen but quiet humor which gained attention and appreciation even from hostile audiences. Some one has classified woman suffragists as those who wanted to *get* the vote because men said they shouldn't have it, and those who wanted to *use* the vote for the good of humanity. Dr. Shaw emphatically belonged to the second class.

Apart from the suffrage question Anna Howard Shaw had a life history unusual even among the careers of ambitious, independent, and energetic American women. She grew old graciously, with a hopeful, friendly spirit. But the calm and serene woman of over seventy in her youth fought physical and social obstacles with tremendous determination. A schoolteacher at fifteen at four dollars a week, a college student beginning with a capital of fifteen dollars, a sharer in the privations of Western pioneer life in Michigan, a breadwinner for her family when its men were fighting in the Civil War, she emerged from her struggles to carry out her early dream of becoming a preacher. And a preacher she became, licensed by the Methodist Church as a laywoman, then graduated regularly from Boston University's Theological School, and pastor of a little Cape Cod church. Lecturing first for temperance under Frances Willard's guidance, then for suffrage, brought her into friendship with Miss Anthony, "the torch that illumined my life."

The advocate of woman suffrage lived to have the right to vote in New York State, but illness, we believe, prevented the actual exercise of the right. Her life was spent in trying to make women finer, broader-minded, and stronger citizens—and not by any means merely through suffrage alone.

A NEW CHARTER FOR PHILADELPHIA

Philadelphia is to have a new Charter, the conspicuous features of which are a single-chambered Council of twenty-one members and a provision that the city shall do its own street paving and repairing and its own garbage and waste removal.

The first of these means that the voters of the city will have a large say in the selection of their representatives, for the system under which the city has been run since 1854 (the year of consolidation) was clumsy and out of date, consisting of two chambers—one the upper body, modeled on the United States Senate and consisting of forty-eight members, and the lower (consisting of ninety-six) modeled on the National House of Representatives. In other words, the city possessed the "Federal system" with a vengeance, and of course a political machine was an absolute essential. The public works provision is aimed at the contract rule, which has so long discredited the city and magnified the power of the famous, or shall we say, the notorious, "Philadelphia organization."

If the Charter contained no other provision, it would still be an important piece of legislation, but it contains many other features which make it in many respects one of the important contributions to charter revision. Among other things it provides for the elimination of the police and firemen from politics, punishing such activity by loss of office and by fine and imprisonment. The ballot is shortened by providing for the appointment of the city Solicitor by the Mayor, heretofore the city's law officer having been elective.

Other important sections provide for a budget prepared by the Mayor on estimates submitted by the Comptroller and for doing away with the accumulation of floating indebtedness, the Charter requiring on this point that "from the receipts

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of the city from taxation and sources other than loan funds the Council shall appropriate before the beginning of the ensuing year a sufficient amount for the extinguishment of the floating indebtedness (other than that accruing within one year from condemnation of real property) which the city Comptroller may estimate to be outstanding on the 1st of January following; and for the payment of all lawful obligations due by the city during the fiscal year commencing January 1; and for such expenditures to be made from such receipts as may be authorized by the Council." The Comptroller is forbidden to countersign any warrant pertaining to any of the appropriations until the Council shall have first passed all appropriations necessary for the expenses for the current year, in itself a reform of no mean proportion. The improvement of the civil service section makes it one of the best and most modern in any American charter. A provision for the revision of the assessor's lists of voters, which are made the basis of councilmanic representation, constitutes another most important reform in view of the fact that heretofore there has been no official revision of these lists and it has been possible for designing politicians to increase their ward representation practically without let or hindrance.

The Council of twenty-one is elected every four years in the various State Senatorial districts, of which there are eight. There is to be one Councilman from each district and one additional Councilman for each unit of 20,000 assessed voters. The Charter contains an interesting provision that "if at any time hereafter the women of the Commonwealth shall be given the right to vote, the unit of representation shall be 40,000 assessed voters instead of 20,000, so that the Council shall continue to be composed of twenty-one members."

HOW PHILADELPHIA GOT ITS NEW CHARTER

This modern Charter, which is a model of draftsmanship, was drafted by a representative committee of citizens and backed up by Senator Boies Penrose and his State organization and by Governor Sproul, who, combined, outgeneraled and outmarshaled the Philadelphia machine, which has been under the control of the contractor bosses, the Vare Brothers, one of whom is a State Senator and the other a Congressman.

The same allies—the Independents, the Town Meeting Party, and Senator Penrose—succeeded in putting through a series of electoral reform measures, restoring personal registration to its former strength and usefulness and curtailing the dangerous inroads which the Vare organization has made on the electoral machinery of the State. Other laws designed to prevent tampering with places of election and to give effect to the voters' intention were passed. Heretofore where a voter marked a straight party ticket and a candidate in another column partisan election boards regarded such ballot as void so far as that office was concerned. Under the new law, the vote will be counted for the candidate whom the voter specifically marked, which is in line with the practice elsewhere.

John C. Winston, the Chairman of the Charter Committee, says: "I do not hesitate to assert that the passage of the legislation is primarily due to organized public sentiment. The assistance of the administration, including the support of Senator Penrose and Governor Sproul (without whose aid all our effort would have been in vain), was a commendable recognition of this overwhelming sentiment of the people, to which the public press gave expression. If this same public sentiment can now be organized for the purpose of electing Councilmen who are free from allegiance to contractors and who will serve the public interest, then we shall get the full benefit of the new Charter.

"It must not be overlooked that we have not only secured a small single-chamber Council, but for the first time in a generation this Council is to be elected on a representative basis, the number of Councilmen from each district being in proportion to the number of votes.

"The people can now have the kind of government they choose to vote for, which before was not possible, owing to the grossly unequal ward representation in councils."

CANADA'S FINANCES

Canada's financial statement was presented the other day by Sir Thomas White, Minister of Finance, in his annual budget speech. In the years previous to the war a national debt of but little more than three hundred millions was regarded with some degree of alarm by many Canadians, in view of the fact that the population was under eight millions. When all expenses in connection with demobilization are paid, Canada's national debt will be almost two billions. The annual interest charges were less than thirteen millions in 1914, but they have now increased to one hundred and fifteen millions.

Undoubtedly, this is a heavy annual charge on a country with a small population. It is, in fact, almost as much as the total of Canada's annual expenditures in pre-war years. Canadians are congratulating themselves, however, on the pleasing circumstance that three-quarters of the securities representing the national debt are held by Canadians. The balance is owing to British and American investors. Interest payments sent out of the country will not be much greater than in 1914. Before the war practically all Canadian public loans were placed in Great Britain, domestic borrowing being considered impossible. Thrown upon her own resources during the war, and with the unusual experience of a balance of trade heavily in her favor, Canada discovered that she could do her own financing. Her Victory Loan in 1918 of eight hundred millions was a greater accomplishment, in proportion to population, than any of the Liberty Loans in the United States. It is not surprising, therefore, that Canadians are calmly confident to-day that the new and heavy financial burdens can be carried without impoverishing the country. The financial impossibilities of 1914 are the commonplaces of 1919.

Nevertheless the burden is heavy. For the current financial year ending March 31 the total expenditure is estimated at $620,000,000. More than half of this sum represents demobilization expenses and war gratuities. As the estimated revenue is only $280,000,000, a loan for the balance will have to be floated in the autumn.

In the face of this situation, the Canadian Government has nevertheless made some substantial concessions to the free-trade sentiment of the western provinces, compensating itself for the resulting loss of revenue by increases in the income tax and excess profits taxes on corporations. There is a strong sentiment among the organized farmers of the Canadian west in favor of sweeping reductions in the tariff; and, although substantial concessions have been made to this sentiment, they have not been sufficient to satisfy the western demands. Twelve western supporters of the Union Government voted against it on this issue, led by the Hon. T. A. Crerar, who resigned his portfolio as Minister of Agriculture in protest. Mr. Crerar is head of a farmers' co-operative company which is probably the biggest grain-buying organization in Canada, and he is generally considered the leader of the western farmers.

There are indications of an early return to party government in Canada, but probably the alignment will be different as a result of the political upheaval of 1917.

THE AMERICAN LEGION

For those of our readers who have been interested in the accounts of the American Legion which have appeared in our columns we give the following information relative to the requirements

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for eligibility and other facts concerning application for membership, etc.

The American Legion originated in two meetings of soldier, sailor, and marine delegates at Paris and St. Louis on March 15 and May 8, 9, and 10, respectively. The Executive Committees appointed at these meetings have combined to form the National Executive Committee of the American Legion, with temporary headquarters at 19 West Forty-fourth Street, New York City. Its immediate programme includes co-operation with the Government and other existing agencies to find employment for ex-service men, and to assist ex-service men in matters of War Risk Insurance, Liberty Bonds, allowances, compensation, and service pay. In order to extend its scope, it also plans the immediate organization of State branches and local posts. These posts must have a minimum membership of fifteen, and application for a charter must be made to the State branch.

Any soldier, sailor, or marine who served honorably between April 6, 1917, and November 11, 1918, whether at home or abroad, is eligible to membership in the American Legion, as are also all women who were regularly enlisted or commissioned in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps. We are informed, furthermore, that all Americans serving in the armed forces of our allies are eligible.

A leaflet has been issued by the Legion which contains useful information for those desiring to join its ranks. In it are given the names and addresses of the secretaries in the various States, Territories, or territorial possessions of the United States to whom application for membership should be made. For example: the New York State Secretary is Mr. Wade H. Hayes, whose address is 140 Nassau Street, New York City; the Hawaiian Secretary is Mr. J. P. Morgan, Box 188, Honolulu. Copies of this leaflet may be obtained at the headquarters of the American Legion.

A competition has been arranged for a design to be used as the official emblem of the Legion—just as the circular copper button has been the well-known emblem of the G. A. R.—for which cash prizes are to be offered. Artists and others interested are invited to submit designs capable of reproduction in bronze or other suitable metal. Full details concerning the conditions of this competition can be secured by addressing Mr. Charles Parsons, Secretary Emblem Committee, American Legion, 663 Downington Avenue, Salt Lake City, Utah.

"UP-AGAINST-IT" FIGHTERS

One of the best types of fighters that the war brought out is "the boy who has been down and out and up against it." This is what Mr. Butcher, the Superintendent of the Brace Memorial Newsboys' Home in New York City, told a representative of the New York "Globe," and he proves it by showing the splendid service under the flag of boys and young men connected with that Home. No less than 2,820 of them volunteered. Long before America went into the war these boys began to be missed, and soon letters came from one after another showing that they had enlisted in France or England or Canada. After we went in four hundred of them passed the enlistment officers in one week.

What kind of a fighter was the ex-newsboy? Mr. Butcher answered: "He's the greatest fighter in the world. He's used to standing on his own feet. His wits have been sharpened. He's aggressive, full of pep, courageous. When it came his time to go 'over the top' he went, and nothing that walked the earth could stop him." Some sixteen hundred of these boys are still in the Army—"among the first to go, among the last to come back." Many have citations or decorations. Some won commissions. Their names are largely foreign in sound, but they are fine Americans in grit and spirit.

If ever there was a better argument for saving and Americanizing the boys who are "up against it" than this record, it would be hard to find.

THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

At the fifty-seventh annual Convention of the National Education Association, held in Milwaukee June 29 to July 5, Mr. George D. Strayer, President of the Association, gave the following analysis of our present education and future needs:

> Millions of Americans, boys and girls, are being taught during a six months' school term by boy and girl teachers who have less than a high school education. The great majority of our children receive no education beyond fourteen years of age. It is a matter of common knowledge that ideals and purposes which govern in life are commonly developed after fourteen, and we know that the intellectual maturity required to understand the principles underlying our republican form of government is not developed before that age.
>
> The future of our American democracy depends upon a recognition of the necessity of developing in the United States a system of public education (1) which will remove illiteracy; (2) which will provide for the Americanization of every foreigner who would continue to live among us; (3) which will include a programme of physical education and health service, providing for every boy and girl an opportunity for normal physical growth and development; (4) which will guarantee sufficient support for public education to make possible a well-equipped school in which a properly trained and adequately paid teacher will teach for a minimum of one hundred and eighty days in the year: (5) which will make compulsory education to eighteen years of age, on full time for boys and girls until sixteen years of age, and on part time, in daylight hours, on the employer's time, for those who work between sixteen and eighteen years of age.

Three especially important general sessions of the Convention were held; one to discuss "The New World and the Demand it Will Make upon Public Education," another in which the central theme was "Education for the Establishment of a Democracy in the World," and a third in which the Child Welfare agencies co-operating with the schools were given a hearing.

Mr. Henry Sterling, a representative of the American Federation of Labor, traced the history of the attitude of the American Federation toward education and concluded by pledging the support of the American Federation for the Smith-Towner Bill, which provides for a Secretary of Education in the President's Cabinet and an annual appropriation of one hundred million dollars for co-operation with the States for National school improvement.

In its resolutions the Association recognized the defects in our National life which President Strayer pointed out and the inadequate organization and supervision of rural education. Against such defects the Association proposes a vigorous, continuous campaign.

AMERICANIZATION IN THE INDUSTRIES

The conference on Americanization in Industry held lately at Nantasket will tend to speed up a Nation-wide movement already advancing by leaps and bounds—the movement for free English in the factories.

Take the case of Massachusetts. One year ago there was not a factory class in the State. To-day half a hundred great industrial concerns offer their foreign-born employees lessons in English during working hours, either in whole or in part on employers' time. They do it from a conviction that, patriotic and philanthropic motives apart, it pays.

Responses to a questionnaire sent out by the Massachusetts Bureau of Immigration indicate that already employers are appreciating distinct gains. Labor is more contented, there are fewer rows between foreigners of different races, fewer misunderstandings between foremen and hands. Labor turnover is actually reduced! Substantial gains are also reported in the reduced proportion of spoiled work now that the workers know

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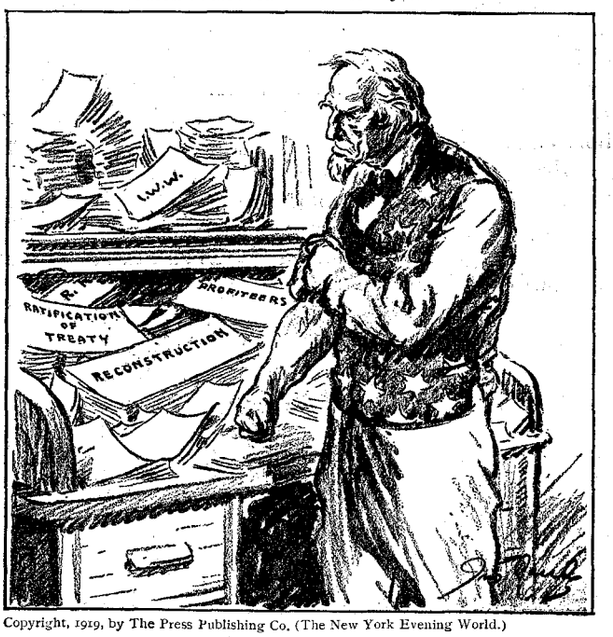
CARTOONS OF THE WEEK

Kirby in the New York World

"THE CARRIAGE WAITS, M'LORD"

Cassel in the New York Evening World



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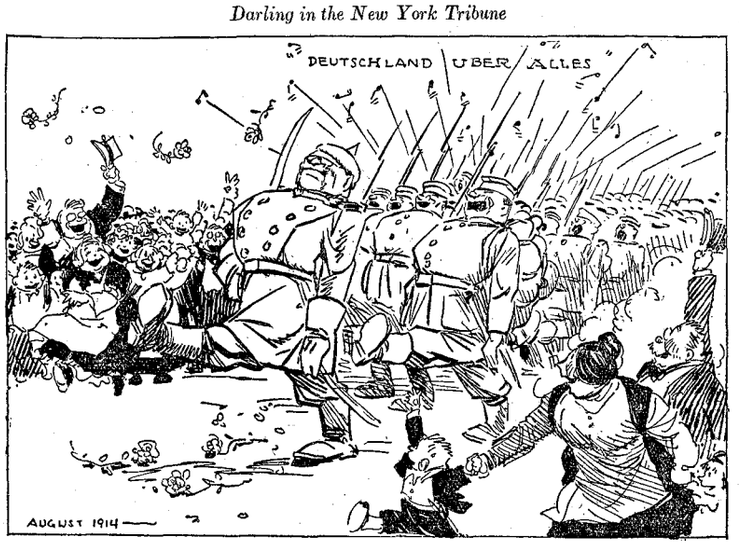
NOW CLEAN UP THIS DESK!

Darling in the New York Tribune



Low in the Passing Show (London)

Patient Parent: "Well, child, what on earth's the matter now?"
Young Hopeful (who has been bathing with his bigger brother): "Willy dropped the towel in the water and he's dried me wetter than I was before."

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AND THUS ENDETH THE STORY

Hurley in Blighty (London)

Park Ranger: "Come on, young feller—I'm just shutting the gates."
Tramp (drowsily): "All right, 'Orace; don't slam them."

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the technical terms of their trade and can clearly understand directions. Accidents are fewer, the workers being able to read warning signs or to take in verbal cautions. In this connection it is a significant fact that seventy per cent of all applicants for accident compensation require the services of an interpreter.

Many employers also report increased output through better understanding of instructions, the mental waking up of language study, and the general healthy atmosphere of good will fostered by a common medium of communication. Most of them are agreed that plant classes will tend to prevent strikes. Labor difficulties not infrequently arise through misunderstanding of English, and strikes are most readily fomented and prolonged among workers who can be easily swayed by agitators who speak their tongue, while these workers are as a rule well-nigh out of reach of their employer, who does not understand their talk.

THE NEW METHODS

Massachusetts did not originate "plant classes." The "English for Safety" campaign of the New York Bureau of Industries and Immigration dates back to 1917.

The Ford plant, the Goodyear plant, and the Goodrich factory at Akron, Ohio, certainly had introduced factory English before Massachusetts began. But so new is the movement that only here and there are statistics forthcoming.

All over the country, however, the factory class is supplanting the night school for the teaching of adult aliens. Aside from the ignominy of being put to school in mature life, the grown alien is not helped by the night school. His brain is too fagged after a day of hard labor. If he is to grapple with the formidable difficulties of English, it must at least be when his powers are at their height. Moreover, the ideal place for him to learn practical English is in the place where he works, where he can get the peculiar vocabulary needed in his particular trade.

In Massachusetts a powerful co-operation between the school board which supplies the teachers, the factory which gives the men's time, and the State Bureau of University Extension which provides special training for the teachers and prepares sample lessons and a valuable teacher's manual insures that the teaching—by the dramatic method—shall be scientific and effective.

A bill now pending in the Legislature would shift the whole burden of Americanization classes to the State for all towns whose total property valuation is under a million dollars, larger towns paying half. Free from any taint of coercion or of patronage, neither of which the intelligent foreigner can stomach, the plant class is perhaps the most thoroughly practical and hopeful offshoot of the Americanization movement.

COMMUNITY SERVICE

The War Camp Community Service has done an immense amount of useful work during the period of the war, and any effort looking toward a continuation of this work will make a strong appeal to all those who have participated in its endeavors. For this purpose there has been formed a National organization, non-partisan and non-sectarian, to be known as Community Service, Incorporated. It is proposed to use to the full the experience of the War Camp Community Service (an outgrowth of the Playground and Recreation Association of America) in its social and recreational work, and of the force of trained workers and volunteers which it has enlisted in its service.

Requests have come to the War Camp Community Service from National officials acquainted with its work, from governors and mayors, from citizens' organizations, from newspapers, from business men, to continue this work into peace times. This as an organization it cannot do, as its funds cannot be spent for other than war work.

It is to meet this demand, to carry over into peace times the accumulated social power or "good will" which the War Camp Community Service has helped to develop and which it would take years to re-establish, and to utilize this power in the solution of our peace problems, that Community Service has been organized.

The aim in all its work will be, not to impose a cut and dried programme from without, but to draw out the strength that is in the people and make them efficient directors of their own affairs. As Governor Sproul, Chairman of the War Camp Community Service in Chester, Pennsylvania, aptly said: "This movement is not something handed down, but an organization of the people themselves, representing all elements of community life, called together under the auspices of the United States Government to develop popular activities and relationships which enrich and strengthen community life."

The programme proposed by Community Service, particularly in industrial cities, contains, among other features, the following:

Play and athletics, such as new parks, playground and athletic fields, municipal beach and bath-houses, boating, swimming, camping, meets, hikes, etc.

Social and recreational activities, including dances, movies, picnics, spelling bees, dramatics, school centers, clubs, and home hospitality.

Plans for concerts, recitals, music festivals, and the development of the ever-popular and much to be commended community singing.

The establishment of club-houses, community clubs, and camps; plans for community mass-meetings and celebrations.

Community Service is not a theory, but an accomplished fact. In the cities of Chester, Pennsylvania, Washington, D.C., and Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, its work is now in progress. An interesting summary of its efforts in those cities is given in a little pamphlet, copies of which may be obtained at the National Headquarters, 1 Madison Avenue, New York City.

The amount of money required for the first year's work is two million dollars. This will provide for the organizing of four hundred communities, to be selected principally from among those in which the War Camp Community Service is already working, at an average cost of five thousand dollars each. It is proposed to apply this amount about evenly to the expenses of the central office and to temporary contributions toward starting the work in the poorer communities. In this way it is hoped and believed that there may be developed better moral and industrial conditions, health and welfare, play and recreation, higher and more adequate community and neighborhood expression, and a better social life.

WHAT WE OWE TO FRANCE

DO we owe anything to France? Have we not just paid our debt? In that already legendary exclamation, "We are here, Lafayette!" is there not expressed, or at least implied, the judgment that the score is settled?

To think of our relations with France or with any other country in that way is to commercialize a spiritual thing. Whatever debt America owes to France for her understanding of the aspirations of the American colonists is a debt that will remain as long as France retains that love of liberty, equality, and fraternity that impelled Lafayette and Rochambeau to come to these shores. Such debts are not canceled.

But even if that ancient debt could be wiped out by anything that America has done, a new debt greater than the old has been incurred. For nearly three years, while we in America debated and hesitated and vacillated, France defended with her life-blood the frontiers of our freedom. We in America know that we have been at war. At least we think we

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know. But what do we know of war compared with what France knows? France suffered from this war, not merely after it broke out, but long before. Turn to Daudet's story printed on another page of this issue, and catch for a moment the feeling of the French whenever they have thought for the past forty years and more of the coming of the Prussians. Imagine what it has meant to French families to have their sons spend months of their lives in training and years of their lives in constant readiness to meet the Prussian menace. From all this we in America have been saved by France's vicarious sacrifice.

And now we are closer than ever before to France and closer too to that peril from which France has saved us and the world. Submarine, airplane, seaplane, and dirigible have within the past few months been binding us close to Europe. Talk of isolation in these days is evidence of blindness and deafness to the most obvious facts. The nearer we are to our friends, the more definite the obligations of our friendship become.

What friendship demands of us self-interest demands also. If we are nearer to our friends, we are nearer also to the perils that are not only theirs but ours.

What we owe to France we thus owe to ourselves. There has been drawn up a Treaty in which America will recognize formally this obligation. For the present Germany is in handcuffs, but will soon regain much of her freedom of action. She has signed a promise to keep her fortifications, her armed forces, and all permanent works for mobilization far away from the frontier which borders France. "In case these stipulations should not assure immediately to France appropriate security and protection," so runs this Treaty, "the United States of America shall be bound to come immediately to her aid in case of any unprovoked act of aggression directed against her by Germany." This Treaty does not create a new obligation; it simply recognizes one that already exists.

Together with this Treaty there has been drafted a similar one between France and Great Britain. This is right, for Great Britain owes to herself and France what we owe to France and ourselves. Nineteen months of our own experience in the war, five years' experience of the still unsubdued spirit of German aggression, and forty years' observation of what France has had to endure, are surely sufficient to make us see that upon Great Britain and the United States there should rest some of the burden that France, because of her nearness to Germany, has never been able in the slightest degree to escape. Upon these three free nations, America, France, and Great Britain, because with their freedom they have power, lies the special duty of standing ready to defend together the cause of ordered liberty.

THE TACTICAL BLUNDER OF THE REPUBLICANS

THE League of Nations is very likely to be the issue of the 1920 Presidential campaign. And some good political judges prophesy that Mr. Wilson may accept the challenge and run for a third term on that issue. We do not believe that he will seek a re-election on the ground that he should be rewarded as one of the authors of the plan. But if the Republicans persist in attacking, opposing, or emasculating the Treaty which has been framed by the five chief Allies, it would not be unnatural for him to take a third nomination in order to defend what he has constantly asserted to be the great issue before the civilized world.

It is our belief that as the people of the United States continue to think about the matter they will say to themselves: "The proposed League doubtless has defects; like the Constitution, it may need ultimate amendments as the result of practical experience; but we are tired of fighting and appeals to force, and we want to try any reasonable experiment that will give us some escape from such catastrophes as that which has just overwhelmed us. If we don't try this experiment now, nobody knows when we shall have another opportunity. We don't propose to jeopardize this chance by further discussion and criticism. We want to get to work and do our tinkering later."

From the point of view of political expediency the sole question is: Which is the largest body of Americans, those who want to try this experiment or those who do not?

Whatever the answer may be, it must be admitted that Senators Lodge, Knox, Borah, and Johnson have raised this question.

Here, it seems to us, has been their great tactical mistake. They would have been far wiser, we think, and far surer of success, if they had gone to the country with an appeal in substance like this:

"We join unhesitatingly with the Democrats in ratifying the Treaty and the League of Nations Covenant. The ratification is not a partisan issue. The administration of the Treaty and the League is. Neither document is worth the paper it is written on unless the most efficient men and the ablest minds are devoted to administering the League. If the appointments to the Assembly and the Council of the League are not of the highest order, the League will be a dismal and probably dangerous failure. You know the general character of appointments under the Democratic Administration. You know the many and great failures of efficiency of that Administration in the conduct of the war. It will be a bigger and more perplexing job to run the League than to run the war. If you are dissatisfied, as we believe you are, with the general war record of the Democrats, we ask you to give your mandate to the Republican party to carry on the League, to enforce the Treaty of Peace, and to direct on your behalf the work of National and international reconstruction."

Such an appeal would at least have commanded a respectful hearing. For the American people do not like obstructionists. They want their leaders to do things. Are not the Republican leaders in the Senate in danger of giving the country the impression that they are critical obstructionists rather than constructive statesmen? It was this course that led to the defeat of the Republican party in 1916. Is that mistake to be repeated?

MILLIONS FOR MUSIC

RECENTLY a great fund to an amount variously estimated at from five to twenty million dollars was bequeathed to the cause of music.

To the man who regards music as a form of entertainment, like vaudeville or the circus, it may seem a waste of money to will a fortune for the encouragement of music in America. To such a man the question might naturally arise, If people want music, why not let them pay for it, as they pay for acrobatics? Since the experience of the past two years, however, a great many Americans who have never thought of the matter before have come to see that music is something more than entertainment. It has proved to be of enormous value to a fighting army. It has been like ammunition and weapons to the soldier. It has been a part of his training. It has given him heart. It has made it easy for him to train, to march, and to fight in rhythm and unison with his comrades. In this sense music is certainly more than an entertainment; it is a utility. There are, however, men who see that it is something still more. They understand, perhaps some of them only dimly, others more clearly, that it is an art, and as such that it has a function of the very highest kind.

As an art the function of music has been compared (as, for example, in the last chapter of D. G. Mason's "From Grieg to Brahms") to the function of science, philosophy, and religion. The scientist encounters a universe that seems capricious: lightning seems to strike whimsically; living things devour one another; disease spreads like magic; but the

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scientist experiments and by observation and study discovers in all this apparent lawlessness the basis of law. The philosopher sees the world at sixes and sevens; he observes the misery and pain and evils of mankind; superficially the world seems a chaos, but the philosopher delves into his own mind and into the minds of other men to find an explanation in terms of order and unity. The religious teacher sees all this evil and chaos, but by faith and hope he enables men to conform their lives to the hidden unity and order. The artist encounters the same confusion; but instead of trying to search out the law and discover it as the scientist does, or to frame in his mind a system of orderly thought as the philosopher does, or to find resource in a serene and untroubled life based on faith as the religious teacher does, he takes out of the confusion material with which he proceeds to erect a structure of order and beauty. If he is a painter, he uses the pigments that lie all about, and he brings them into order and beauty upon canvas. If he is an architect, he finds in the stones scattered about in confusion on the earth's surface or in the iron ore hidden in the earth materials out of which he builds his creation of order. And if he is a musician, he takes his material from the confused sounds of the earth, from the noises that can be made with striking or with blowing or with scraping, and out of these confused noises he creates a structure of harmony. The scientist finds a chaos, but he searches in it for the laws of a cosmos; the philosopher finds a chaos, and he thinks out a cosmos; the religious teacher finds a chaos, and he reaches out for faith in a cosmos; while the artist, seeing the chaos, says: "Go to! I will build me a cosmos."

Men do not expect science or philosophy to be self-supporting. They believe that the scientist and the philosopher are doing the world a service which cannot be bought and paid for, and which cannot be bartered in the market, and so men, and even states, have endowed universities. Men, too, believe that the religious teacher and prophet renders a service that cannot make him self-supporting in the ordinary sense, and so men endow churches or unite to support institutions of religion by their common contributions. The time has already come in America, as it has come in other and older countries, when men see that art too cannot be made a matter of commerce, that it cannot be left to the competitive struggle of the market-place, but must be supported out of the larger reservoirs of accumulated wealth. America has been lavish in its support of schools, colleges, and universities, and has supported churches by the thousands; so America has been awakening to the need of giving similar support to institutions of art.

This is the significance of the generous bequest recorded in the will of Augustus D. Juilliard. The terms of this gift were recently made public when the will was filed for probate at Goshen, Orange County, New York. According to the statement made on behalf of the executors and trustees of the estate—

> The general scope of the Juilliard Musical Foundation, as stated in the will, is to aid all worthy students of music in securing complete and adequate musical education, either at appropriate institutions now in existence or hereafter to be created, or from appropriate instructors in this country or abroad; to arrange for and to give without profit to it musical entertainments, concerts, and recitals of a character appropriate for the education and entertainment of the general public in the musical arts; and to aid the Metropolitan Opera Company in the City of New York for the purpose of assisting it in the production of operas.
>
> Ample discretion is vested in the trustees to provide that the Juilliard Musical Foundation shall have the necessary powers to carry out the expressed wishes and general scheme as expressed by the testator.

In no respect does the wisdom of Mr. Juilliard in making this bequest show itself more evident than in the freedom which he grants to the trustees of the Foundation. No man can foresee the peculiar needs or the peculiar opportunities of the generation that is to follow him; and to recognize this limitation upon foresight is a sign of foresight itself. By his very restraint Mr. Juilliard has made his gift the more expansive. He has enabled genius yet unborn to rise and grow and flourish. He has put at the disposal of boys and girls endowed with native gifts opportunity to gain the training without which those gifts would remain hidden and lost. He has, as it were, already put out the talents of coming Americans to usury.

We hope that the trustees of this Foundation will administer their trust with the same breadth with which it was established; that they will call nothing common or unclean; that they will see in the music of the people the material out of which great art can be created; that they will see in the stones which the builders of ordinary musical temples reject the heads of the corner; that they will not value the opera, which is hardly so much an art as it is a social occasion, too highly; that they will not regard with too great disdain the musical products of Broadway; that they will not confine themselves to the metropolis or to the great cities, or even to the towns; that they will not only "give a thought to Broadway," but also to the broader fields of our far-flung population. Few men have had as great an opportunity to serve the coming civilization of America as the trustees of the Juilliard Musical Foundation.

THE SENATE SHOULD RATIFY, WITH RESERVATIONS

BY FREDERICK M. DAVENPORT

PROFESSOR IN LAW AND CIVIL POLITY AT HAMILTON COLLEGE AND REPUBLICAN MEMBER OF THE SENATE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK

SINCE the United States Senate is Republican, Republican leadership has a great responsibility and a great opportunity. Through the mist there is beginning to appear the position that America should take. And America can take her position only through the Senate, which is now dominantly Republican, and a two-thirds vote can be obtained for the Treaty only through a Republican majority. It is the Republican party which is now to speak for America, and not Mr. Wilson. This is the result of the election returns of last November, which indicated a temper of mind unfavorable to the continuation of the Wilson régime in Washington.

Will the Republican party rise to the level of its solemn duty? Party leadership has had a golden opportunity. The psychology of America is against the Democrats, and probably against the President. But the Republican Senate has not yet succeeded in persuading the American people that it has a policy of its own, or in carrying the public opinion of the American people with it. Is it too late for Republicanism to meet its vast responsibility?

The issue is clearing. Probably one reason for the seeming impotence of the Republican leadership has been that until recently the issue has not been clear; that nobody in the Republican majority had a copy of the Treaty; that covert and complicated covenants, covertly arrived at, are hard to fathom and straightforwardly to interpret to a hundred millions, anyway.

Now that we know the provisions and the stipulations, we are beginning to see the light. The public opinion of the country is crystallizing. It is evident that the American people believe that the suspense of a continued state of war should cease, that some sort of a substantial and practical league of nations is a necessity for human progress, and that the instrument embodying the League and

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the Treaty should be ratified. Arrangements for delay and deliberation in serious disputes, the provision to avert war by joint action, the recognition of the right to freedom of races and of peoples, the measures to maintain order in the chaotic region east of the Rhine, are indispensable to the continuation of an orderly civilization. So far the American people follow President Wilson.

But there is a great current of influence which is not Wilsonian at all, and not yet interpreted by the Senate leadership at Washington, but which is in reality traditionally American, eminently sound, and comes along the Hay-Root-Roosevelt line of political heredity. It represents the tradition of foreign policy and of internationalism which was at its best when Republicanism was aforetime at its best in the McKinley and Roosevelt Administrations. The Hay-Root-Roosevelt diplomacy was far more democratic than the Wilsonian diplomacy has turned out to be. Take the provision in the recent Treaty settlement about Shantung, practically guaranteeing the imperialistic aims of Japan in China. How far removed from the internationalistic ideals of democracy! How far removed from Hay's principle of the open door, and the Root agreements with Japan with respect to universal equality of opportunity in China and the continuation of the open door! Yet the Shantung settlement in our Versailles Treaty seems to be directly in line with the upsetting of the Root-Takahira agreement by the Lansing-Ishii agreement under the Wilsonian Administration. The Lansing-Ishii agreement recognizes the special interest of Japan in China, just as the Shantung provision clearly aims to do. At this point the Republican tradition runs much truer to democracy than does the Wilsonian tradition as disclosed in the Lansing-Ishii agreement or the Shantung provision.

The feeling of uneasiness about this particular phase of the Versailles instrument has been heightened by the language in which reference has finally been made to the Monroe Doctrine in the amendment to the original draft. "Regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine" are not to be disturbed. Now the Monroe Doctrine is not a regional understanding. It is a trespass notice warning Europe not to interfere with the developing freedom and nationality of the peoples of the Western Hemisphere. And here again the way seems to be opened for the old imperialistic spheres of influence, and special interests of all sorts, which *are* regional understandings, to obtain new vitality and flourish with new strength.

It is no wonder that there has arisen a feeling of uneasiness and a disposition to look more closely at the provisions of the League and the Treaty, and a growing fear in some quarters that not only here but elsewhere in the instrument the highly trained and astute diplomats of the foreign offices of Europe may have put something over on democracy and on the President. By such provisions democracy is certainly made no safer for the world.

The undertaking in Article X of the Treaty "to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League" also brings out in bold relief the sharp cleavage between the Root-Roosevelt-Republican tradition and the tradition which Wilson would now impose upon America. For example, the American tradition, which has come down from the Root-Roosevelt foreign policy, has been a tradition of hands off in the territorial and political disputes of South America. South America is full at this moment of possible disputes, some of which may be rather easily revived. It has been the policy of the United States not to take sides in these disputes. If we now take sides with our Allies under Article X, shall we not at once have the whole of South America solidly united against us? Is not the older tradition of our foreign policy safer for America and safer for democracy?

And in Europe, if we undertake beyond a reasonable period of readjustment and reconstruction to preserve against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing independence of all members of the League, and mingle, as a full and permanent partner in the Alliance, with the petty quarrels of the Old World, do we not risk the loss of the moral leadership which our unbiased and altruistic helpfulness has brought within our grasp? Is America fitted by her own purposes, her own rationally detached position of physical and moral greatness, her own experience, to match wits as an all-the-year-round partner at the gaming-table of the Allied Council? Is there not some modification of the wise and traditional policy of American aloofness in South America, in Europe, which will make her relation to the League of Nations more flexible than Article X makes it, and which would leave her in a position of far greater efficiency to enforce the peace of the world?

In the next few weeks the American people ought to discuss these questions from sea to sea. They are vital to our National as well as to our international welfare. We are not to assume that President Wilson is not bringing home from Europe many provisions of great value, but we must remember that they are not his provisions. For the most part his ideas did not prevail. And even if they had prevailed, they should have been subjected to the frankest and profoundest criticism as soon as they were released from the semi-darkness that has overspread Versailles. The League Covenant represents the mind of General Smuts, of South Africa, more than that of any other man. The dangerous Article X was never in the Smuts plan. And General Smuts, who emerges from Versailles as a most enlightened and open-minded personality, himself signed with the reservation that he did not consider it a satisfactory document, and the only ground on which he would agree to it as it stands was that it closed the chapters of the war and the armistice. Inspired by this great authority, the American people may well consider what reservations they may determine upon in the interest of the National welfare and the world, which may still make it possible to close the unsettling and ruinous chapters of the war and the armistice.

There is no proof of it competent in a court of justice, but there is a widespread belief in the world, which is reinforced by the testimony of the Liberal Smuts, that our President has not succeeded in his mission to obtain the letter and the spirit of a permanent and a genuine peace. There is a widespread suspicion that the exigencies and intrigues of world diplomacy have entangled and imprisoned his idealism. All the more is it incumbent upon America to scrutinize seriously and deeply the work of the Versailles Conference. May not America and the Republican Senate preserve the League of Nations and all of the Treaty which cannot be changed without affirmative action of amendment, and yet not be a party to the riveting upon the neck of the world of the chains of the *status quo?*

Are not reservations to which no objection is offered in accordance with long-established precedent? Has not America again and again made reservations in the Hague conventions? Does not the Republican leadership in the Senate and the Republican party in the country owe it to America to make an intelligent and critical stand against the stampeding of public opinion on the most critical issue of our generation? Is there any reason to doubt that in the end the Allies will offer no objection to any reasonable reservation which we may make? Are we not still, and shall we not continue to be, the hope and stay of our allies? Is not the power ours, and not theirs? And is there not for them and for the world far greater potency in the reasonable aloofness of America from the congested intrigues of Europe than from a complete and mechanical partnership of alliance and action that well might weaken the position which America occupies as the keystone of the arch of moral leadership?

If the Republican leadership in Washington at a stroke can make it clear to the country that democracy is still not safe, but endangered in the very instrument which brings also some hope to the world; that the Treaty is at best at many points a peace of national interests, and not a peace of democracy; that it must be ratified, but with reasonable reservations; and that then what General Smuts calls "the new creative spirit which is once more moving among peoples in their anguish" must be depended upon to inspire change in the instrument in the direction of democracy and justice—and if the Republican leadership can put this across into the confidence of the American people it will be an inspiring thing for the country and of great advantage to the Republican party.

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THE DEDICATION TABLET PLACED ON THE ROOSEVELT MONUMENT

THE DEDICATION OF MOUNT THEODORE ROOSEVELT

STAFF CORRESPONDENCE FROM TRAVERS D. CARMAN

CONTAINING A TRIBUTE BY MAJOR-GENERAL LEONARD WOOD

"So lived this man, and died, and lives again—
A white dynamic memory in the land.
Oh, what a heritage, my countrymen!
He'll plead forever now, with voice and hand,
Our righteous causes, and his power will grow.
Cease tolling, bell, and let the bugles blow!"

THIS last stanza of that beautiful memorial to Theodore Roosevelt, written by Samuel Valentine Cole and published in The Outlook of February 5, recalled itself to my mind with added emphasis at the dedication ceremonies of Mount Theodore Roosevelt, four miles north of Deadwood, South Dakota, on Friday, July 4.

Civil War veterans, men of the Spanish-American War, boys in khaki just back from the great war, Major-General Leonard Wood, the Hon. Peter Norbeck, Governor of South Dakota, Mr. Hermann Hagedorn, author of "The Life of Roosevelt," representing the Executive Committee of the Roosevelt Memorial Association, Congressman E. W. Martin, the Rev. William P. Remington, Bishop of South Dakota, Captain Seth Bullock, the Colonel's lifelong friend and admirer, Sylvane Ferris, Mr. Roosevelt's one-time ranch partner, Major Allen, special representative of Commander Booth of the Salvation Army, and other prominent men and women from many parts of the country far and near, all had assembled there, drawn together and united in the common bond of paying the Nation's tribute of love and reverence to the memory of Theodore Roosevelt, the Great American.

Bearing proudly aloft on its summit its stately monument about to be dedicated, Mount Theodore Roosevelt towered high above the surrounding peaks and canyons for miles on every side. As far as the eye could see the Black Hills of South Dakota, with wondrous contrasting colors of wooded slopes, rock-bared mountain-tops, and valleys softened with purple haze, shone resplendent in the golden sunlight of the West.

It needed but the first strains of "My Country, 'tis of Thee," to swell the hearts of all with a renewed and devout thankfulness for the God-given blessings of our country, its salvation for future generations to come, and a full realization of the part the Great American had played in making this country our country and a land of liberty.

Following an invocation of singular beauty of expression by Bishop Remington, embodying an earnest supplication that the life of Theodore Roosevelt might forever in the history of this nation be followed as a standard of Christian living, Congressman E. W. Martin made the opening address of the dedication.

"The West," said the Congressman,

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" is honoring itself to-day while it pays a loving tribute to the character of Theodore Roosevelt. The Western people have always recognized in him a living personification of their highest and noblest inspirations. The idea of this memorial originated with Captain Seth Bullock—Roosevelt's lifelong intimate friend and companion. Upon his motion, the Society of Black Hills Pioneers at their annual meeting in Deadwood, in the month of January of this year, passed a resolution changing the name of this mountain upon which we are gathered this afternoon from Sheep Mountain to Mount Theodore Roosevelt."

Governor Norbeck in a stirring address paid a justly earned tribute to General Wood's remarkable career of executive and military achievement.

And then followed as the principal address of the dedication ceremonies the following tribute to Colonel Roosevelt by General Wood:

GENERAL WOOD'S SPEECH

" We are assembled here to-day to dedicate this monument and this mountain to the memory of Theodore Roosevelt, the Great Leader, whom death has taken from us. The sense of loss and sorrow which spread over the land when he died is still heavy upon us. The Nation mourns one of its greatest sons—a man whose memory will be as enduring among us as the mountain itself.

" Millions who have never known or seen Theodore Roosevelt feel that they have lost a friend; that the Nation has lost an absolutely honest and courageous leader; that a great far-seeing intelligence has been taken from us at one of the most critical periods in our National life—taken from us at a time when we needed it more than ever before.

" America loved him and trusted him because he was, above everything else, an American. His broad vision, deep knowledge of the world's affairs, sound judgment, and courageous leadership were never more needed than in these days when it is necessary to stand together, shoulder to shoulder, for the Constitution and for the policies through which we have become great. While intensely American, his sympathy was as broad as the world. It was limited to no race or creed.

" Somehow the world seems less safe for the ideals we are struggling for. The cause of righteousness and fair dealing between nations, of open and honest policies, has lost its strongest champion. This feeling of loss is confined to no class or section; it is felt by labor and capital, by soldier and sailor, by rabbi and priest, by the people as a whole. They all understand that he stood for the right, for the square deal, for high ideals, for clean living, and that he had studied and that he understood the difficulties of the poor and of labor; that he appreciated the responsibilities and the problems of the rich. They appreciated his frankness, his absolute honesty, his willingness to admit a mistake once he saw it. He appealed to the conscience of our country and impressed upon business and industry new standards. He preached against the neglect of civic obligations by those of our citizens who should take most interest in them—the educated and well-to-do. His name is a synonym for honest courage and the spirit of service. He was a true statesman, wise enough to hold on to the good of the past and liberal enough to take advantage of what is best in the progress of to-day.

" He prepared a way for a better understanding between labor and capital. He appreciated the fact that they were interlocking forces, that united they stood, separated they fell. He strove to encourage legitimate business and to curb and control unworthy enterprises. He held that wealth should be the servant of the people, and not their master. He believed in neither an autocracy of wealth nor an autocracy of labor; but rather in a democracy of both, a democracy characterized by a spirit of helpfulness and co-operation and an understanding of the vital relationship between them.

" As President he pursued an unbroken foreign policy of international understanding and good will. He was a believer in arbitration, as shown by the many arbitration treaties made during his Administration. He called to his assistance the best men available, regardless of party. He gathered his information by full and free consultation with the best men of all parties. The mainspring of his policy was an honest desire for justice and fair dealing, with a view to a righteous peace. He was conservative and patient in crises, seeking freely the advice of all those best able to give it. The welfare of our country was ever foremost in his mind. He never sought it through oppression or injustice in dealing with the weak, nor did he lose sight of it in dealing with the strong. He believed in avoiding entangling alliances, while standing ready to help when our own conscience dictated, and realized that America must have a strong National spirit, backed by the right kind of a National conscience, in order that she might stand ready to play her part when civilization and the rights of mankind were in danger, acting under the dictates of her own conscience and not under the mandate of other nations.

" Among his last words were these:

> " We must feel in the very marrow of our being that our loyalty is due only to America, and that it is not diluted by loyalty for any other nation or all other nations on the face of the earth. Only thus shall we fit ourselves really to serve other nations, to refuse ourselves to wrong them, and to refuse to let them do wrong or suffer wrong.

" He hated war, as all do who know it; but he dreaded, above all things, failure to do our duty, even though it should be done through war. While believing in arbitration, he had that knowledge which comes from study of the past, which led him to understand that arbitration is most effective when we have not only justice but strength. He had sufficient confidence in America. He believed she could be organized and strong, ready to do her duty as she saw it, without becoming an oppressor of others. He realized that, strong as well as just, we would be a force for righteousness and world peace.

" He believed in international conventions and in bringing nations together to discuss matters which were of international interest; in other words, in any procedure which would tend to make nations discuss questions at issue before fighting, provided such arrangements did not interfere with our essential sovereignty or violate our traditional policy.

" We lost our soundest and strongest advocate for peace when Theodore Roosevelt died. Soundest and strongest because he understood the character of man, the causes which lead to war, and realized that a nation must be not only right, but of resolute spirit and have ready that moral and material organization which is often necessary to make the protest of a justice-loving nation effective. He saw the war approaching years before it came. When the fatal day arrived, he pointed out where our duty lay. The people of the Nation turned to him for leadership, not only in counsel, but in the field. He planned to raise a division. Tens of thousands stood ready to respond to his call. The voluntary spirit of the country was behind him. Denied an opportunity to raise a division, he threw his whole energy and his whole soul into a vigorous support of the war. His children and those closest to him went with his blessing. Everything he had, everything he controlled, was devoted to the winning of the war; for he saw clearly that it was as much our war as that of our allies, and that it was a war for civilization.

" Born and reared under the best surroundings, well educated, widely read, with every opportunity to drift into the easy, careless life, his whole career from early youth was marked by a desire to do something worth while, to be of some service to the world. Frail in early youth, he made himself robust and strong. Handicapped by defective vision, he became an expert hunter, fearless explorer, a man who loved rough and dangerous places. He loved the simple, yet strenuous life. He worked hard and played hard. He was never inactive.

" Married life was for him the ideal life. He was singularly devoted to home and family. His respect for women was profound. He appreciated their position and influence in the world as few men do. He was clean of speech, and his life was clean and moral. He abhorred, above all, suggestive speech, loose living, and immorality.

" While he loved all our people, he had an especial appreciation of the people of the West. It was the part of the country in which he had found health and strength. He was fond of their simple life, their patriotism, and their directness. He loved a hard, fast run in a rough country, a bout with the broadswords, a hard gallop across country. He was

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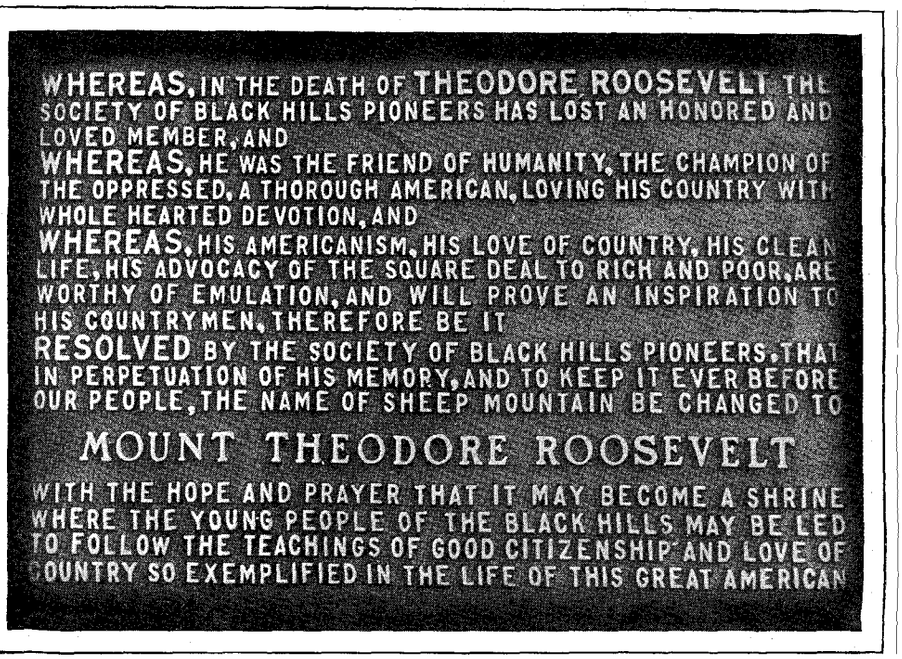
MAJOR-GENERAL WOOD AND CAPTAIN SETH BULLOCK STANDING BESIDE THE TABLET


WHEREAS, IN THE DEATH OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT THE SOCIETY OF BLACK HILLS PIONEERS HAS LOST AN HONORED AND LOVED MEMBER, AND
WHEREAS, HE WAS THE FRIEND OF HUMANITY, THE CHAMPION OF THE OPPRESSED, A THOROUGH AMERICAN, LOVING HIS COUNTRY WITH WHOLE HEARTED DEVOTION, AND
WHEREAS, HIS AMERICANISM, HIS LOVE OF COUNTRY, HIS CLEAN LIFE, HIS ADVOCACY OF THE SQUARE DEAL TO RICH AND POOR, ARE WORTHY OF EMULATION, AND WILL PROVE AN INSPIRATION TO HIS COUNTRYMEN, THEREFORE BE IT
RESOLVED BY THE SOCIETY OF BLACK HILLS PIONEERS, THAT IN PERPETUATION OF HIS MEMORY, AND TO KEEP IT EVER BEFORE OUR PEOPLE, THE NAME OF SHEEP MOUNTAIN BE CHANGED TO
MOUNT THEODORE ROOSEVELT
WITH THE HOPE AND PRAYER THAT IT MAY BECOME A SHRINE WHERE THE YOUNG PEOPLE OF THE BLACK HILLS MAY BE LED TO FOLLOW THE TEACHINGS OF GOOD CITIZENSHIP AND LOVE OF COUNTRY SO EXEMPLIFIED IN THE LIFE OF THIS GREAT AMERICAN

THE MEMORIAL TO COLONEL ROOSEVELT THAT APPEARS BELOW THE DEDICATION TABLET ON THE ROOSEVELT MONUMENT

an omnivorous reader. He was equally at home at a roundup, in the legislative halls, an assembly of scientists, or as a speaker at a university commencement.

"Travel, reading, study, and contact with men had given him a familiarity with men and affairs which is seldom found. He was a many-sided man; a human dynamo, driven by the forces of truth, humanity, and patriotism.

"Like all men who do things, he made mistakes—mistakes which he was the first to recognize once he saw them. His honesty, purpose, and purity of character were such that slander never touched him and his real enemies were few. He had the old crusading spirit. He was always leading onwards and upwards, generally well in the advance. He feared nothing, unless it were duty undone. He was a profound student of history and a devout Christian.

"He realized that progress comes generally through struggle, and seldom through ease and idleness.

"He realized that wars have been man's portion at times ever since he was created; that it is often necessary for a nation to do its duty through war. He believed that rational preparation against it, combined with justice and fair dealing, are the most effective forces for peace.

"He was a thorough believer in the basic principle of democracy, that hand in hand with the opportunity and privilege given us by the Republic goes obligation for National service in war as well as in peace. He believed that unless democracy accepts and lives up to this principle it cannot endure; that shoulder to shoulder, rich and poor, Jew and Gentile, newcomer and native-born, we must serve the Republic in war and in peace, in fair weather and in storm. He saw in this community of service, in this equality of obligation, the flame to fuse the diverse elements in our population into one homogeneous mass of Americans, the upbuilding of a spirit of National solidarity, and the establishment of better understanding between the groups and classes of our people. He saw in it also something of the brotherhood of man which comes through community of effort, surroundings, and purpose, and that better appreciation of each other which comes from closer association, especially when this association is for a common purpose, and that purpose a lofty one—the defense of our country and the right.

"In Theodore Roosevelt's opinion, no man who refuses service to the limit of his ability, whether in war or peace, is fit to be a citizen.

"Knowing our men will always go to war for what they believe to be right, and that when they refuse we shall cease to be a nation, and realizing that our women will send them and despise them if they do not go, and that the better trained they are the fewer will die, he advocated universal training for National service, training on rational lines such as the Swiss or Australian. He realized that it was a false humanity, indeed it was brutal inhumanity, not to give the men who are to fight our battles a sporting chance. He saw the deadly unpreparedness of this country as the war crept upon us, and strove to correct it by voice and pen, for he knew that not to prepare meant thousands of unnecessary dead. Having been in war, he realized how great the losses must be where the men, and especially the officers, are unprepared and where there is any shortage in the machines and weapons with which man fights on the ground, in the air, on the sea, or beneath its surface.

"'Speak softly, but carry a big stick,' with him meant to be just and fair but ready to meet the forces of wrong with the disciplined strength of right. He had little patience with those adroit in the use of words and skilled in the building of phrases but lacking the concrete courage to meet issues when National honor, the lives of our people, and the best interests of humanity and civilization demanded action.

"It was impossible for him to be a neutral in the face of wrong. He believed in a free press, free speech, and pitiless publicity and understood that a democracy resenting criticism, smothering the press, and hampering publicity is a democracy in danger, if not a democracy dying.

"He was devoted to nature. No one loved forests and mountains more than he. From extensive travel and observation, not only in our own country but abroad, he saw the necessity of establishing a sound and rational system of conservation of our National forests, which were being ruthlessly wasted in many places, and under his leadership a sound system of conservation became a part of our National policy. In looking forward to an equitable distribution of our National wealth he urged a vigorous policy in reference to the reservation of our water-power sites and the reclamation of our desert areas, that they may be ready for the coming millions. He established the Department of Commerce and Labor; laid the foundation for better understanding between capital and labor; did more than any other President to make the world realize what the United States stands for, and what a government 'of the people, for the people, by the people,' means.

"He was the most inspiring, and consequently the most dominant, figure in our National life since Lincoln. The youth of the country turned to him: he was its ideal.

"He was a brave and efficient officer, often reckless of his own safety but always careful of that of his men. He was always frank and straightforward, yet absolutely subordinate and loyal. While subordinate, he understood the difference between subordination and servility. He gave his opinion frankly, but obeyed promptly

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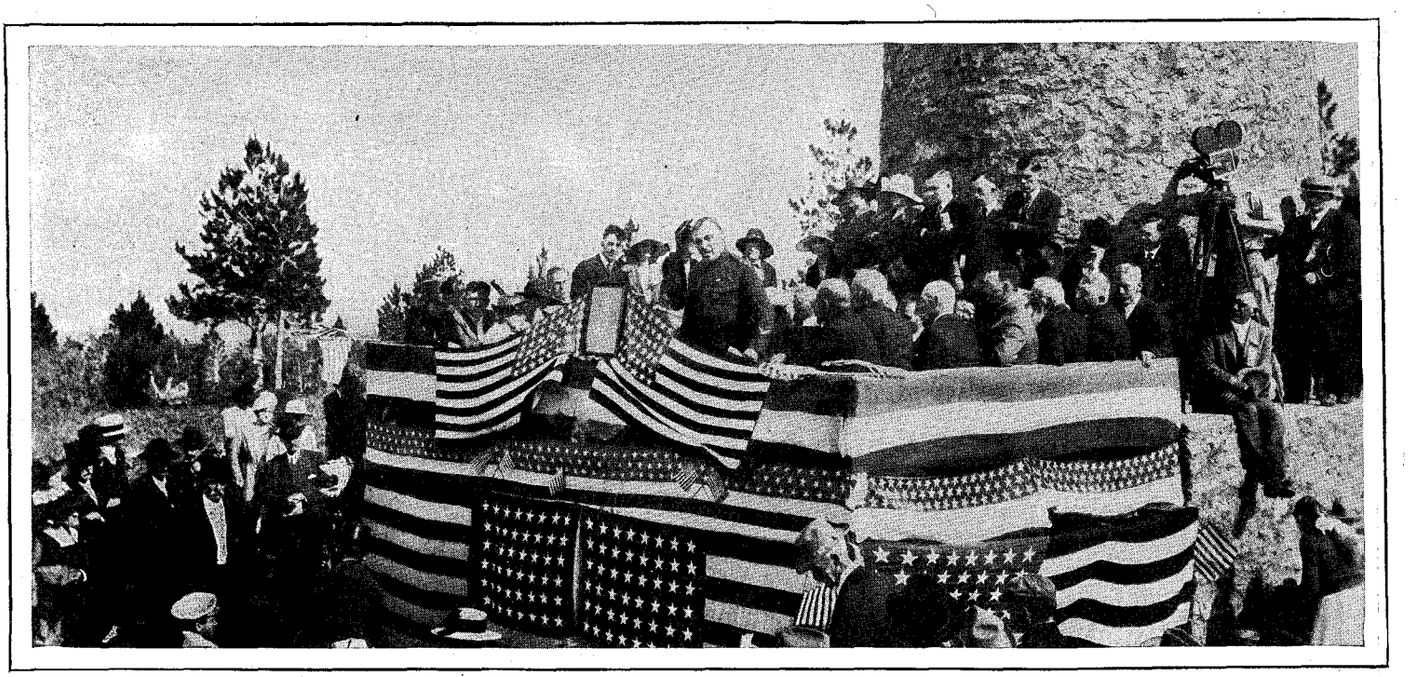

MAJOR-GENERAL LEONARD WOOD DELIVERING HIS ADDRESS AT THE DEDICATION CEREMONIES

and faithfully whatever commands he received, whether they were in accord with his own views or not.

"He was a many-sided man, but four-square to all the world—a wise statesman, naturalist, author, writer of history, scholar, soldier, builder of standards, a man with a clean soul and dauntless spirit, whose watchword was duty and whose life was one for the right, for country, and for God. Such was Theodore Roosevelt. He believed in the Constitution, in a government owned and run by and for the people, and not in a people owned and dominated by the government. Perhaps his greatest service was rendered in his last years when he raised his voice against the deadly menace of internationalism and the heresies of the day.

"He believed in one flag, one language, and one country; no dual citizenship. He believed in a sincere welcome and fair treatment for the immigrants who come to us for the purpose of adopting our standards and living up to them, and had no sympathy for those who come to us for the purpose of tearing down those things which we have spent our National life in building up. He believed that true liberty is found within the law. His creed was clearly expressed in his last message:

> "I cannot be with you, and so all I can do is to wish you God-speed. There must be no sagging back in the fight for Americanism now that the war is over. . . . We should insist that if the immigrant who comes here does in good faith become an American and assimilate himself to us, he shall be treated on an exact equality with every one else. . . . There can be no divided allegiances at all. We have room but for one flag, the American flag, and this excludes the red flag, which symbolizes only war against liberty and civilization. We have room but for one language here, and that is the English language, for we intend to see that the crucible turns our people out as Americans, and not as dwellers in a polyglot boarding-house, and we have room for but one loyalty, and that is loyalty to the American people.

"Such is the man to whom we to-day dedicate this mountain, which in its rugged simplicity and strength typifies his character. May the influence of his teachings be as permanent among us as the mountain itself!

"God grant that his spirit and ideals may guide us in the days before us!"

THE COLONEL, THE CAPTAIN, AND THE BLACK HILLS

It would not perhaps be out of place here to tell briefly the story of Colonel Roosevelt's connection with the Black Hills.

In September of 1883, when recovering from serious illness, and in hopes to gain strength for his third term in the Albany Assembly, Mr. Roosevelt, who had long been eager to know the West intimately, arrived at Medora, a somewhat disappointed cow town of North Dakota, and found his way to Chimney Butte, a ranch then owned by Sylvane Ferris and Arthur W. Merrifield, located on the Little Missouri River, seven miles south of Medora. A friendship developed almost immediately between the three, and before Mr. Roosevelt's return to New York he had bought Chimney Butte Ranch, with Sylvane Ferris and Arthur W. Merrifield as his partners, and with the former as his ranch boss. Upon this trip Joseph Ferris, a brother of the Colonel's partner, also met Mr. Roosevelt, and afterwards became his lifelong friend. He it was who helped the Colonel get his first buffalo after a three days' hunt on rations consisting only of dry biscuit. In the fall of 1884 Colonel Roosevelt bought Elkhorn Ranch, also on the Little Missouri River, thirty miles north of Medora.

On the day following the dedication of Mount Roosevelt it was my great good fortune to meet Sylvane and Joe Ferris, men fashioned after the heart of the Colonel. They mourned his loss as one would a brother infinitely near and dear. Speaking of the building of the commodious ranch at Elkhorn, where the Colonel did much of his writing, Joe Ferris told me of one particularly amusing incident. Bill Sewall and Will Dow, two famous Maine woodsmen and old friends of Mr. Roosevelt's, had, upon the latter's invitation, gone to Elkhorn and assisted the Colonel in cutting the logs for the new ranch house and in building it. It seems that the Colonel's art as a wood-chopper was somewhat restricted. A cowboy was heard to ask one of them as the three were returning one night after a hard day in the woods, how many trees they had cut. "Well," said Will Dow, "Bill [Sewall] cut down fifty-three, I cut forty-nine, and the boss 'beavered' down seventeen." Any one familiar with the methods of the industrious beavers in gnawing down trees for their dams will appreciate this humorous description of the Colonel's way of chopping down a tree.

Suspicious of the Colonel's eyeglasses and fearing that they indicated "some moral rather than physical defect," the cowboys nicknamed the Colonel on sight the "four-eyed cow-puncher."

And about this time began Captain Seth Bullock's close friendship with Colonel Roosevelt, which lasted throughout the remainder of the latter's life. Seth Bullock had gone in search of his cattle from his own ranch at Belle Fourche (in South Dakota, one hundred and sixty miles south of Chimney Butte), which had strayed north, and Colonel Roosevelt had gone in search of his cattle, which had strayed south, and thus they met. I asked Seth Bullock what stood out foremost in his early recollection of Colonel Roosevelt, and he replied: "First, his absolute fairness; and, second, his unwillingness to ask his cowboys to do anything the Colonel himself would not do and did not do."

After the close of the Spanish-American War, through which Seth Bullock

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MONUMENT ERECTED BY THE SOCIETY OF BLACK HILLS PIONEERS ON MOUNT THEODORE ROOSEVELT. VETERANS OF THE CIVIL WAR STANDING ON THE BASE OF THE MONUMENT—GENERAL WOOD AND CAPTAIN BULLOCK IN THE FOREGROUND

served as a captain of Troop A in the Cowboy Regiment, he was, through the efforts of his friends, and unknown to himself, appointed Forest Supervisor for the Black Hills Forest Reserve.

In the above connection it is of interest to note that through a treaty made with the Sioux Indians the Black Hill country was opened for settlement in the fall of 1876 and Deadwood founded at that time. The Black Hills, located partly in northeastern Wyoming, but principally in southwestern South Dakota, cover an area of about 6,000 square miles, of which 1,983 square miles has been set apart by the United States Government as a Forest Reserve. Furthermore, that in accordance with the by-laws of the Society of Black Hills Pioneers, by whom the monument was erected on Mount Theodore Roosevelt, no person is eligible for membership who has settled in the Black Hills subsequent to January 1, 1877. That Colonel Roosevelt was elected its only honorary member was an honor of which he was particularly proud to the day of his death.

When Mr. Roosevelt was President, Seth Bullock had the pleasant but grave responsibility of "breaking in" each of three of Mr. Roosevelt's four sons in successive years, and with orders from the President that he was to "rope, throw, and brand" them in the cow-puncher's school.

Of one of the sons Captain Bullock delights to tell the following as typical of the Roosevelt spirit: "The day of his arrival we wanted some trout, so I told him to go and catch them in a near-by stream, but not to go into the water, as it was desperately cold. Looking him up later, I discovered the President's son wading in midstream with the water up to his waist. I asked him when he came ashore why he had done so, and his reply was: 'Well, you told me to catch some trout. I couldn't catch them from shore, so I went in and got them.'"

And right here I must tell you of the story of Seth Bullock, the promoter. It was supposed to have happened in Deadwood and is ample testimony of Seth Bullock's ability to embrace an opportunity possessing possibilities.

A shipment of supplies had come in, and among them was a case of eggs, a number of which, strange to relate, had not been broken. By some fortunate coincidence several gallons of sherry had arrived at the same time. Scanning both with growing interest, Seth Bullock permitted opportunity to knock but once at his mental door. Going to the bartender to whom the sherry was consigned, he asked him how he'd like to have an egg sherry, and the latter allowed as how it listened well, but that he didn't have any eggs. "Well," said Seth Bullock, "if I provide the eggs, will you provide the sherry?" to which the bartender readily agreed. Going next to the grocer to whom the eggs were shipped, he said, "How would you like an egg sherry?" to which the grocer replied, "Fine, but I haven't any sherry." "All right," said Seth Bullock. "Bring three eggs and come with me," and took him back to the bartender. Whereupon three egg sherrys were duly prepared and appreciatively surrounded. It was not until then, however, that suspicion of aught amiss occurred to the bartender, who suddenly exclaimed, "Where the hell, Bill, does Seth come in on this ante?" To which Seth Bullock replied, with a pleasant smile, "Oh, I'm the promoter."

The Colonel had often said that without his ranching experience and the friends he made while a cow-puncher and rancher in the Black Hills he would never have been elected President of the United States; and after what I saw the statement is not hard to believe.

Rarely have I enjoyed so delightful an evening as that spent with Seth Bullock in Deadwood the night before the dedication of Mount Roosevelt. I had not seen him since those memorable days and nights during the Republican and Progressive Conventions in Chicago in 1912.

He told how one day one of Colonel Roosevelt's cowboys had hunted in vain for an hour down a coulée for a stray cow and calf, and returned swearing profusely, artistically, and at great length, with little repetition. The Colonel shut him off abruptly with a sharp reprimand and went himself to look for the missing pair. Returning at the end of several hours without success, but returning apparently only after the most diligent and wearying search, the Colonel hunted up the cowboy and said: "I didn't find 'em either; swear all you want to."

As Captain Bullock got up to go, with a look of infinite sadness, he said: "The Colonel was to have come out here this summer, and instead here are a lot of us gathered to dedicate a monument and mountain to him. The country is only beginning to sense its loss—a full realization of the extent of that loss must be left to the years to come. There have been two great Americans, Lincoln and Roosevelt, and I had the honor of knowing the latter."

A rare scholar, possessed with a courage that knew not fear, a man of great achievement, a never-ceasing fighter for right, champion of every movement for National, civic, industrial, and social betterment, of remarkable personality, a father of loving solicitude, a husband of tender devotion, one of God's great noblemen, honored of all nations, worshiped by his friends, respected by his enemies, so lived Theodore Roosevelt, unsparing of self, lavish in his herculean efforts in behalf of humanity and his country.

As I beheld the rugged grandeur of the country Colonel Roosevelt had fought for so many years to reclaim I realized to the utmost that it had become indeed a land of promise trebly fulfilled. It even seemed as though, in defiance of the grave at Sagamore Hill, the Black Hills had called, and that Mount Theodore Roosevelt had possessed itself, as its unquestioned heritage, of the spirit of that great soul.

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ROOSEVELT AS A PRACTICAL POLITICIAN

BY BRANDER MATTHEWS

THOMAS B. REED, sometime Speaker of the House of Representatives, once defined a statesman as "a successful politician—who is dead." The definition is characteristically clever; and it is at least as accurate as the generality of clever definitions. Abraham Lincoln was a statesman who was also a successful politician, up to every move of the game and always making the best of the cards which happened to be dealt to him by fate. Grover Cleveland, on the other hand, was a statesman who was not so successful a politician, in spite of his two terms in the White House. He did not always get on with his own party as well as he might; and he had no relish for practical politics, preferring to go his own way in his own fashion without making sure in advance of the necessary support. He belonged to the Democratic party, but he sometimes acted as if he believed that the Democratic party belonged to him. He did not hesitate to antagonize men from whom he might have won useful assistance.

Lincoln had no more persistent admirer than Theodore Roosevelt, who is said to have asked himself in any position of uncertainty what Lincoln would have done under similar circumstances. And like Lincoln, Roosevelt was an idealist, with a masterful understanding of the realities of political life. He was like Lincoln also in intuitive perception of popular feeling, due in large part to his sympathetic appreciation of human nature. Like Lincoln, once more, Roosevelt was ambitious; and like Lincoln he never allowed the promptings of this dangerous passion to swerve him from the path of duty. He had a firm conviction as to the abiding accuracy of the old saying that he serves his party best who serves his country best. But he believed in party government; and he was always ready "to go with his party" in non-essentials in the hope that he could persuade the party to go with him in essentials. He had no liking for intrigue; he never descended to "peanut politics;" but, as he wanted to accomplish certain results which he could not achieve single-handed and which were possible only with the support of the "organization," he was ever tactful in binding to himself all the elements of his party, even those of which he could not but disapprove.

II

He had confidence in the people, in the average American citizen, in the ordinary voter. He felt assured that the main body of our population was to be trusted and that it was itself ready to trust a leader who had proved his honesty. He accepted as axiomatic Lincoln's assertion that "you can fool part of the people all of the time and all of the people part of the time, but you cannot fool all the people all the time." He did not doubt the ultimate wisdom of the people, its shrewdness, its insight, and its ability to size up those who appealed to it for support. He appreciated the fact that the people may blunder and flounder and make many mistakes of judgment; but he recognized also that in the long run they were pretty certain to arrive at a wise decision. And he knew that the American people had imagination and that they were at heart idealists, however sordid some of their practices might seem to be.

It was to this imagination, this idealism, this underlying morality, that Roosevelt was forever addressing himself, and in so doing he did not shrink from the spectacular. The raising of the Rough Riders, the building of the Panama Canal, the sending of the battleship fleet around the world, "ready for a frolic or a fight"—these were all spectacular, each in its own way. But no one of them was spectacular for its own sake; all of them had an immediate practical value, obvious to all men. Whenever Roosevelt hitched his wagon to a star, he made sure that the harness would hold and that the wheels would not catch fire.

He credited the average man with the keen moral sense and the high moral fervor that he himself possessed. He knew that to scoff at political morality and to call the Golden Rule an iridescent dream is bad politics, even if it is not worse; and that way madness lies and disgraceful defeat. Merely as policy, it was better for him to advocate the Square Deal, especially when he believed in it with the enthusiastic faith of a moral crusader. One of his opponents thought to pour contempt on him by the sneer that Roosevelt was forever talking about the Ten Commandments "as if he had written them himself." Well, he had written them in his own heart, which is more effective than merely reading them on a table of stone. He had not only written them, but he believed in them and accepted their obligations; and he was earnest in the effort to make others obey this code, even if they did not believe in it.

His hold upon the American people was due largely to his active imagination, his practical idealism, and his insistent moral energy, which awakened, aroused, and stimulated the imagination, the idealism, and the morality that he knew to be latent and only a little below the surface. He got the best out of the people because he asked for the best and because they could not help seeing that he himself practiced what he preached to others. So it was that the people had faith in him and came to believe that he would keep faith with them. The young men more especially rallied around him and were ready to follow his flag into the fight, feeling sure that he would be in the thick of it. The young are always more likely to respond to an appeal to their imagination than their more disenchanted elders, and they are more willing to run risks for the sake of their ideals.

No one of our political leaders in the hundred and thirty years of our history as a nation has ever been able to enlist an army of adherents as large as Roosevelt's—as enthusiastic, as personally devoted, and as eager to be led into the fray. He might make mistakes and his followers might not always be willing to go as far or as fast as he desired; but they did not think any the less of him. He might arouse bitter and vindictive opposition; but they loved him all the more for the enemies he had made. He might not always be as clear and exact in his use of words as he generally was; most of his battle-cries needed no apology and no explanation. They affixed themselves to the memory from the moment he uttered them.

Now and again, it is true, one of Roosevelt's slogans might be less felicitous than was his wont, as when he advocated the recall of judicial decisions, which seemed to threaten the integrity of the courts, and which therefore met with instant denunciation. But while his phrase was not fortunate, he was in fact only calling attention to a process of carrying out the popular will which had been applied repeatedly. The Dred Scott decision had been recalled by the Civil War, the legal tender decision had been recalled by a change in the membership of the Supreme Court; the anti-income tax decision had been recalled by an amendment to the Constitution; and we are now witnessing what will undoubtedly be a successful effort to recall the child labor decisions. Whenever a decision of a court, high or low, is shocking to the moral sense of the community, a way will be found sooner or later to recall it. The people themselves are the ultimate makers of the laws by which they intend to be governed; and it is right and proper for them to insist on recalling a decision of which they disapprove, even if it is also necessary for them to face the difficulty of the operation and to take time to express their will in accordance with all the forms of law and with all due deference to the necessity of respecting the courts.

III

The second cause of Roosevelt's astonishing success as a practical politician—that is to say, of his hold on the people—was due to his knowledge of human nature and to his sympathetic understanding of his fellow-man. Consider first of all his career—private school in New York City, then four years at Harvard, followed by a brief stay at the Law School of Columbia University, which he left to serve as a member of the Assembly of New York. Thereafter he went out to Montana to ranch and to hunt, until he was called to Washington to take a place as a Civil Service Commissioner, rising to be chairman and resigning at last to take charge of the New York Police Department. As the Spanish-American War grew

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near he resigned again to accept the position of Assistant Secretary of the Navy, that he might help the Navy to be ready for its approaching duties; and when the war broke at last he left the Navy for the Army, raising the Rough Riders and seeing active service in Cuba. On his return he was elected Governor of New York; and before his two years of this office were ended he had been elected Vice-President, succeeding to the Presidency in less than six months. This career afforded him a variety of experience greater than that of any of his predecessors in the White House; and it gave him an unequaled training.

Consider again the multiplicity of his points of contact with all sorts and conditions of men. As his father and mother had held an honorable place among the old families of New York, he was at ease with those who had inherited fortunes; he spoke their language and he had been brought up with their manners and customs. But as a result of the Western adventures he was equally at ease with the men who labored with their own hands, with ranchers and hunters. By official association he came to have a wide acquaintance with the men of the Army and with the men of the Navy. He had had intimate relations with the professional politicians of New York City and of New York State, with the police force and with the members of Tammany Hall. He mingled as an equal with the historians and the men of letters; and he had friends who were painters and sculptors. He was not afraid of highbrows and he was friendly with prize-fighters.

In short, he was a good "mixer," to employ an expressive word not yet recognized by the lexicographers. He was "folksy," to use another expressive word also waiting at the door of the dictionary. He liked people, and as long as they were good of their kind, he did not greatly care of what kind of people they were. He was not exclusive, or toplofty, although he was unfailingly dignified. He could get along with anybody and get the best out of him if there was any good in him. He was approachable and cordial; but he was also both shrewd and swift in his judgment of men; and he was almost unerring in his decisions. Rarely did he make any mistake in the choice of his associates, and more especially of his intimates. He had friends in every walk of life and in every State in the Union, and he profited greatly by the fact that a very large proportion of these friends were not in politics, even if they were all likely to take a healthy interest in public affairs, as a good citizen should. He had a host of friends entirely devoid of political ambition—so devoid that they refused the posts which he proffered them.

To say this is to suggest that he was intensely human. He liked to call himself a faunal naturalist; but the animal he knew best was the genus *Homo*. And it was in consequence of his clear-eyed insight into character that he was able to bind men to him and to get his own way, even from the baser sort of politician who did not aspire to his standards or share his ideals. His personality was so winning, his appeal was so persuasive, that there were few who could resist it.

After he had served his term as Governor of New York a friend asked him how it was that he had been able to get a Legislature dominated by the party machine to pass the law imposing a franchise tax and the law putting the Civil Service of the State rigidly on the merit system—two acts which that Legislature certainly was not anxious to pass. It is impossible, of course, to quote his exact words, but his explanation ran more or less in this wise:

"You must remember that I am a party man. I believe in party and in the organization by which only can a party retain its necessary cohesion and compactness. I consulted the party leaders when I had an appointment to make. Of course if the post to be filled demanded a man of a special kind with special qualifications and I knew the only man who could fill it properly I appointed him, and explained to the party leaders the absolute necessity of my selection. But for nine places out of ten all that was needed was a really good man, honest and capable and reasonably likely to make good in the post. One man of this sort would suit me as well as another. So I invited suggestions; and I was sometimes at first urged to appoint a broken-down and discredited party hack. Then I would gently point out the disadvantage to the party if I made that kind of appointment; and I requested another name. Very possibly the second man would be also a party hack, but not broken down and not discredited; and I would explain again that the leaders ought to be able to bring me a more attractive suggestion, one more in accord with the provisions of our platform. They would then name a better man, perhaps a man almost good enough; and I would thank them cordially and ask them to make a final effort—and that final effort would be the name of exactly the sort of man that I should have chosen if left to myself. Then when the time came for the passage of the bills that I wanted I sent for the leaders and told them that I had acted on their suggestion as regards all these appointments—and now the time had come for them to do something for me. And they did it!"

It was no wonder that Thomas C. Platt was extremely desirous of getting Roosevelt out of the Governorship and into the Vice-Presidency.

IV

Roosevelt's belief in the people was as solidly rooted as Jefferson's; his appreciation of human nature was as acute as Lincoln's; and his courage was as outstanding as Cleveland's. And courage, resolute and undaunted, is one of the most useful qualifications for political leadership. Without it the politician can never be a leader, since he only follows if he is not ready to take the risk of blazing a trail in advance. Roosevelt had imagination and the vision which only imagination can give; as a historian he knew the past (and very few men in public life have ever mastered all the details of our political history as he had mastered them) and as became a statesman he looked to the future. It was a daring deed to take the steps necessary to the building of the Panama Canal. It was a brave act to send the battleship fleet around the world. It demanded a bold confidence to proclaim loudly and repeatedly that we ought to enter the war the day after the Lusitania had been sunk.

It was once asserted that the difference between him and Mr. Taft as Presidents and when they were confronted with a crisis that called for immediate action lay in this—that Mr. Taft was ready to take any step which was authorized by law, and that Roosevelt did not hesitate to do anything which was not forbidden by law. He avoided the illegal, of course, for he was a law-abiding man; but in utilizing an unprecedented remedy for a wrong he did not shrink from the extralegal.

As an instance of his courageous method of disentangling himself from a legal difficulty, attention may be called to an achievement early in his management of the New York police. There was then a Chief of Police who had made himself popular with the newspaper men and who was believed to be competent and efficient. It was known, however, that Roosevelt did not approve of him and wished to get rid of him, which seemed impossible, since the tenure of a police official is carefully guarded by rigid legislation. Suddenly, to the surprise of everybody, this chief of police resigned, leaving Roosevelt master of the situation. How was this resignation extorted from a man who had boasted that he intended to hold his post to the end?

To a friend who requested the solution of this mystery Roosevelt explained the method he had adopted, a method beautiful in its simplicity.

"An investigation of the Police Department had revealed that the force was demoralized and that the conditions were unsatisfactory. Either the chief knew what had been going on, in which case he had failed in his duty, or he did not know, in which case he was incompetent. So I sent for him and asked for his resignation. He refused to give it. I told him that I intended to put him out on a certain charge, and I handed him the papers. He only glanced at them and said that he knew all about the charge and that his counsel, Mr. Carter and Mr. Choate (the two leaders of the New York bar), had assured him that the courts would reinstate him. I told him that I supposed this to be perfectly possible, but that the day the courts put him back I would put him out on a second charge. And I added that if he was again reinstated he would be put out on a third charge. As long as I was at the head of the Police Board I did not intend to have him as Chief of Police. Then I advised him to let me have his resignation, for I knew that some one of the charges against him would

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be completely sustained and he would leave office a disgraced man. He looked at me and I looked at him. Then without a word he left my office; and that afternoon I had his resignation."

The risk that Roosevelt ran is obvious. If he had put the Chief out three or four times, only to have him reinstated by the courts, it would have looked like persistent persecution; and there would have been an unending clamor against the flagrant injustice of the procedure.

There is another puzzle which Roosevelt never explained publicly and which will probably never be cleared up completely except by the official biographer, who will have access to all his papers. This is the sudden change of heart on the part of the heads of the coal roads at the time of the strike in the coal regions. These presidents of the companies engaged in mining coal declined to make any concessions to the strikers. They refused to submit anything to arbitration, and they told Roosevelt with offensive rudeness that they proposed to manage their own affairs in their own way. Then, most unexpectedly, they agreed to arbitrate, and a settlement was speedily arrived at which was satisfactory to the public. What were the influences by which Roosevelt was able to make the heads of the coal companies eat their words and do the one thing they had declared they never would do?

The explanation is to be found in the fact that the coal roads had been reorganized by the late J. P. Morgan, and that he controlled them, although he did not interfere in any way with their management. To Morgan came a member of Roosevelt's Cabinet bearing a message that the President felt that some way must be found to prevent a coal famine during the winter, which was only three or four weeks distant, and that he was going to follow the example of Cleveland in the Venezuela matter. He had prepared a Message to Congress asking for authorization to appoint a commission of five to investigate the coal business; not merely the conditions brought about by the strike, but the coal-mining industry as a whole, its history, its practices, its management, in all its recesses and in all its details. He intended to request an appropriation of $100,000 for expenses, and he had already chosen the five men who were to constitute the commission. They were all men of the highest character, whose names would carry weight with the American people and whose recommendations would demand acceptance. The chairman of the commission would be Grover Cleveland, who had already written accepting the appointment.

Morgan knew that Roosevelt would do as he had said, and he did not know what disturbing facts the proposed commission might uncover. So he notified the presidents of the coal companies that they must agree to arbitrate.

Roosevelt had found a way out of an apparently impossible difficulty by using his courage, his imagination, and his knowledge of human nature. When it was necessary, he could be a very practical politician.

THE SOCIETY OF NATIONS IN THE LIGHT OF THE PRESENT SITUATION

STAFF CORRESPONDENCE FROM ELBERT FRANCIS BALDWIN

YOU cannot live with the members of any family without realizing that they owe one another mutual protection.

So the nations of the world owe one another mutual protection, for the world is but one large family.

How can nations provide for such a mutual protection? In particular, how can they save mankind from another world war?

As in the family proper, so in the family of nations, any jealous rivalry must be removed. By what means can this be done? By providing the means for the common conduct of those nations' common affairs. To this end have been all the efforts to form a League, Federation, or Society of Nations.

The present year, one is glad to think, has seen a greater advance in this direction than has any other year. A Society of Nations has been formed. The cooperation has been apparently entirely friendly.

So far, so good. But the mere forming of a Society of Nations will not suffice unless those nations genuinely resolve to live and work harmoniously together.

It is all very well to get together and to frame a charter providing for direct responsibility in harmonizing international discords, for arbitrating disputes, for open diplomacy, for economic and social work, and then to amend that charter so that it has the approval of practically every national parliament; indeed, to change the very name "League" to "Society," on the ground that a league or alliance has not proved lasting beyond a certain number of years—the Holy Alliance, for instance; whereas a federation or society, as we have seen in the cases of Switzerland and the United States, has lasted for very many years.

The plan, as thus far worked out, is indeed an accomplishment. Yet what if the plan will not work further? Is the Society of Nations standing the present strains upon it?

"Yes," say many men I see; "because here in Paris we have daily evidence of amicable interchange of views and amicable results arrived at conformable to the principles laid down for the charter of the Society of Nations. The Society is changing its character from that of a mere alliance to that of a real international government.

"Moreover, with regard to one particular feature, that of food, in which the United States has played the leading rôle, we see the Society of Nations at work in its most beneficent, humane, and best-organized activity."

At the same time the various attacks on the Society should be noted.

AMERICA

United States Senators assail the Society's charter as too pro-British, especially in the articles providing for the guarantee of territorial integrity. The Senators are still unsatisfied as regards the Monroe Doctrine and as regards alien disputes. On the other hand, there is a general suspicion here in Paris that we at home are not yet ready to make the necessary sacrifice of our comfort and our prejudices incumbent upon each component part of the Society. Our Commissioners agreed to the clause in the charter which involves the appointment of mandataries to supervise the affairs of nations not yet strong enough to stand alone. Why, then, say our critics, should we object if, in the unanimous judgment of all the other members of the Society's Executive Council, a mandate should be given us to supervise Armenia, for instance—a difficult job, it is true, but certainly one which, as Lord Bryce said to me, offers certain rewards to unselfish international service, and one which the United States could do better than any other nation, first, because we have no territorial ambitions, and, second, because of the splendid educational, charitable, medical, and missionary work which we have done there, a work amounting in volume and value to more than that of all the other nations put together?

As to our Commissioners themselves, I found in Italy much cynicism concerning any Society of Nations in which President Wilson should play a preponderant rule. "What confidence can we have in a scheme so ordered," said an Italian to me, "when one hand of its principal protagonist withholds Fiume from us and the other hand gives Shantung to the Japanese? It looks as if your President had one policy for a subject which does not closely concern America and another policy for a subject which does."

Of course the Chinese express the same opinion. And no wonder! The opinion also finds an echo among many Americans.

My friend Baron Serge Korff, late Russian Vice-Governor of Finland, has just said: "The Great Powers doubtless want to make the small struggling peoples on the Russian western and

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northwestern border free and strong, and thus more and more a bulwark against Germany. But, I ask, just as our Admiral Kolchak is on the point of triumph, why do the Powers—already acting as a Society of Nations in embryo—hamper him by imposing obligations which can only bind him hand and foot? It has done this in its demand on him that if a solution of the relations between Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and others in the north, and the Caucasian and Transcaspian territories in the south, on the one hand, and Russia on the other, is not speedily reached a settlement will be made in consultation and co-operation with the Society of Nations; and that until such settlement is made the Kolchak Government agrees to recognize these territories as autonomous, and to confirm the relations which may exist between their *de facto* governments and the Entente Governments. The Society of Nations is thus playing right into the hands of Germany. It is continuing the exact German plan, which in order to rule Russia would first divide her. The Society's present action, however, is not as bad as was the incredible Prinkipo proposal and the still worse nomination of a man like Herron as your representative to the Prinkipo Conference, which would have been a practical recognition of Russian Bolshevism. If that is the sort of thing a Society of Nations is going to do, then I say we would be infinitely better off without any society at all."

ENGLAND

As to English influence, the chief British Commissioner, Mr. Lloyd George, believing disarmament to be an essential condition of the success of a Society of Nations, says that we cannot expect nations ravaged by war to trust their desolated lands to the Society's protection if its chief advocates themselves, the Great Powers, hesitate to show confidence in its guardianship. But, no matter what self-denying regulations the Great Powers may ultimately agree on as to their own military forces, are they really awakening the trust of those ravaged nations? Having demanded that the German army be reduced to 100,000 men, the Society of Nations would limit the armies of those smaller nations, but more generously, it is true, than in the case of Germany—for instance, Poland may not have more than 80,000 men; Czechoslovakia and Rumania, each not more than 60,000; Jugoslavia, 40,000. At first blush this might seem more than fair to those four nations, especially as they are as anxious as any one to demobilize. But, for the moment, what do they say? "Reduce Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria—all right," remarked a Slav the other day: "that's the way to have peace. But to reduce the defense of those of us who have been ravaged and oppressed is only a new outrage for us. Our weakening would bring on a new war all the sooner.

"Again," he added, "no one of us seeks to evade his just debts. But is it right for the Peace Commissioners, acting as a Society of Nations, to demand that we shall pay any part of the actual expenses of a war waged against us? That would be monstrous."

He concluded: "The Society of Nations can go too far. Why is it preventing the Rumanians in Hungary from finishing for good and all with Bela Kun and his 85,000 men, many being the German troops of Marshal von Mackensen? Why is it permitting Bela to attack the Czechoslovaks at the same time? Anyway, what can you expect from a man like Lloyd George, who has been willing to leave Constantinople to the Turks?"

FRANCE

As to France, we see a nation which, having borne *the* burden of the war, now feels lonely and exposed, because the Americans and English are withdrawing and demobilizing their forces, just as if the war were over!

France is poorer by the loss of 1,500,000 men killed, and how many mutilated? But this is not all. Let it not be forgotten that France has lost twice as many men as England has. Let it not be forgotten that, compared with us, France has lost many times the number of men we have.

Yet never was there such need here as there is now for labor. For example, to replace the lack of native labor in one region our American forestry contingent is at this moment felling 150,000 trees in the Landes, necessary for immediate consumption in the rebuilding of houses, schools, and factories. This is a practical instance of what the fraternal work of a real Society of Nations can accomplish.

The French have expected that part of their army would by this time be demobilized and that their most pressing needs for labor would be met in some degree. But how can it be done when the French must now occupy the regions abandoned by the Americans and the English?

Then there is another poignant circumstance—the strikes, doubtless fomented by the Boches and Bolsheviki working hand in hand. Their plotting has all the more fruitful ground for success in a country like France, where capital and labor do not yet understand each other as well as they do in England and America—do not yet understand that their interests are in common and that there must be economic harmony for the common good. The employees of a particular concern go on strike, as did the employees of the great dry-goods store the "Printemps," for example; or the employees of a particular industry go on strike, as did those of the sugar refineries just outside of Paris last month. To hear the strikers' talk you might think that they represented some individualistic entity, opposed by all other men. You get no notion from the talk that the strikers realize in any degree that there must be union with all other men, a mutual development.

France is economically ill. That itself is bad enough. But what is worse is the fact that her illness menaces the health of all other nations. Fortunately, French statesmen are alive to both these things. As to external danger—a future war by Germany—they are grateful for the promised Anglo-American alliance in that event intervening in their behalf. But as to internal danger, how glad they would be to have the moral significance of even a very few American and English soldiers here!

In this connection, while it would be better to have an imperfect Society of Nations than to have none at all, French statesmen still protest that no provision has yet been made for the support of the well-nigh universal opinion favorable to a Society of Nations by a proportionate force. In the words of M. Bourgeois to me: "The armaments of each state should be limited to the needs of the state's internal security, but the contingents for an international force should be so selected that it would be *sure* of the last word! It is necessary that any future Teutonic alliance should realize that in a recourse to arms it would face a force already completely organized, capable of breaking all resistance and compelling respect for law and justice."

GERMANY

There are arguments on both sides as to whether it was or was not a good thing to insert the charter of the Society of Nations in the Peace Treaty. But one thing is sure, anyway—Germany does not yet appreciate (nor do we altogether, I fancy) that the Treaty's value in securing reparation and in preventing future war directly depends upon that Society. Especially does Germany not appreciate the fact that the incorporation of the Society's charter makes the Treaty more elastic than any other has been.

And yet Germany is expecting great things from our Society of Nations. She did, indeed, put forward an alternative scheme for a League of Nations which was at once rejected by the Allies here as unworkable. Nothing daunted, Germany, without the slightest confession that she has sinned and without one word of repentance, demanded admittance into our Society. She doubtless expects that the camouflaged militarism which masks itself under her new Government will meet the entrance qualifications—namely, that the applying state shall have a free self-government, inspiring confidence; that it shall give effective guarantees of sincere intention to observe international obligations; that it shall have loyally carried out a good part of its obligations and show a patent resolve to carry out the rest; and that it shall accept armament limitations as regulated by the Society of Nations.

What Germany is really after is to unsettle the existing Society of Nations at its base; second, to evade all possible performance of international obligations; and, third, to obtain from it the economic and territorial advantages which she was not able to obtain by force.

Again, and in particular, the Society of Nations is helping Germany at this actual moment. The great question here

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THIS FINE PHOTOGRAPH OF PRESIDENT WILSON AND CARDINAL MERCIER WAS MADE IN FRONT OF THE CARDINAL'S RESIDENCE AT MALINES DURING PRESIDENT WILSON'S RECENT VISIT TO BELGIUM

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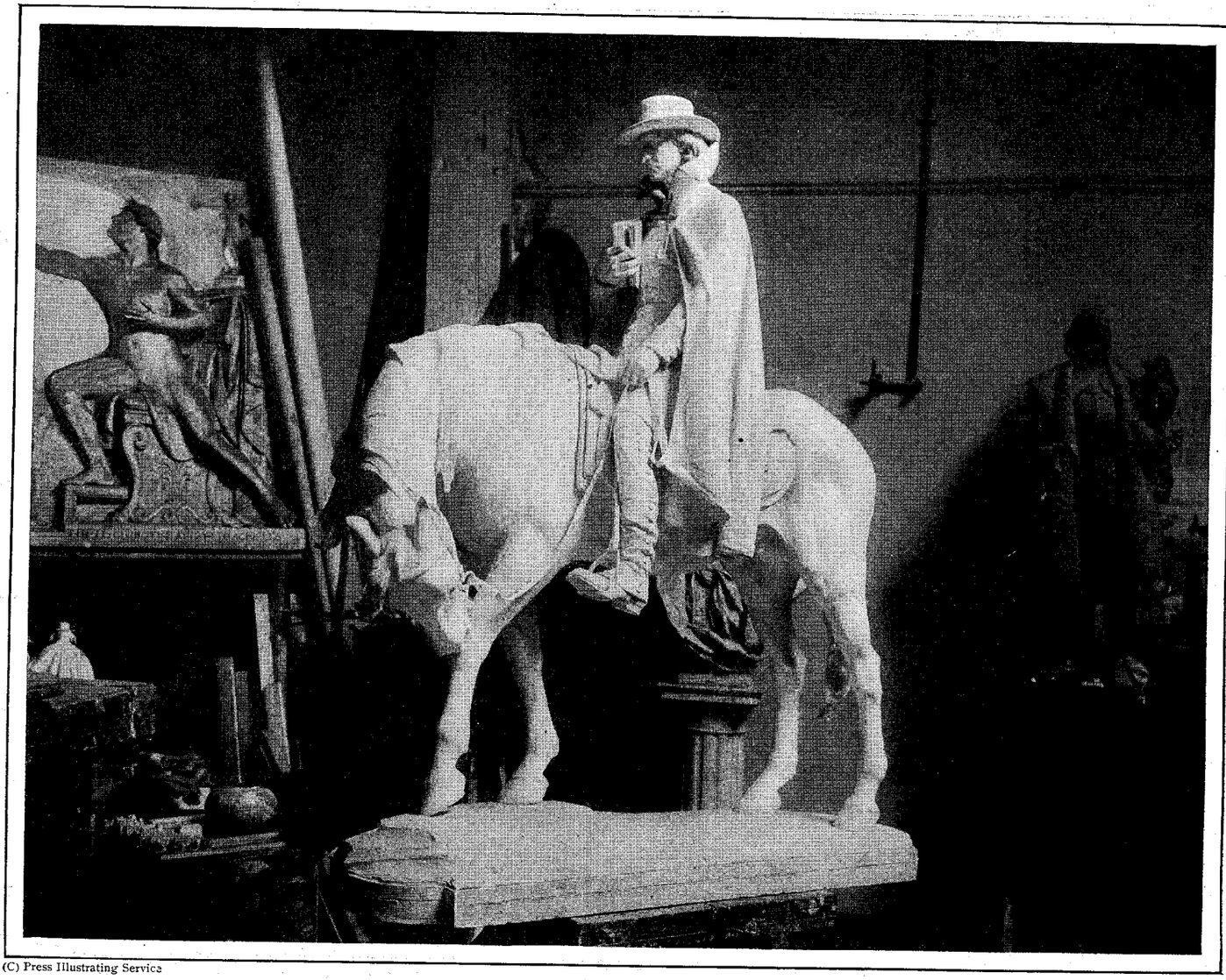


(C) Press Illustrating Service

A PIONEER BISHOP

Here, in Augustus Lakeman's equestrian statue of the first American Methodist Bishop, Francis Asbury, is a characteristic presentation of the old-time pioneer circuit rider

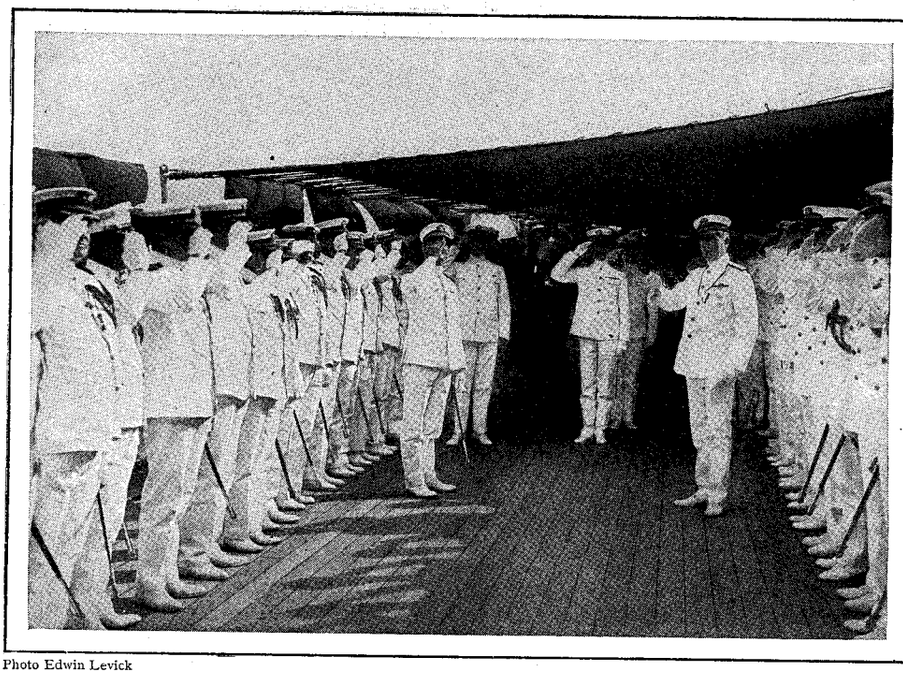
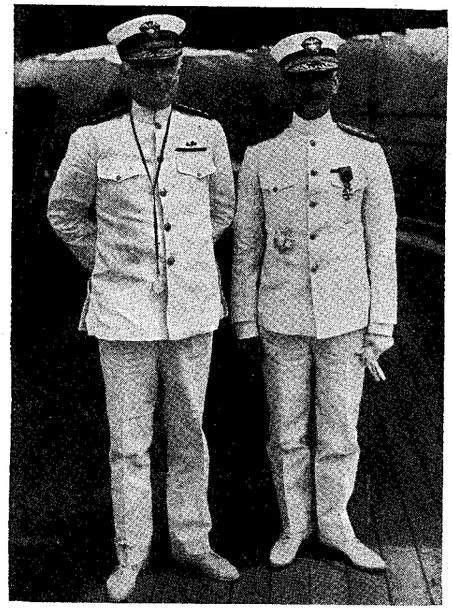


Photo Edwin Levick



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THE NEW AND OLD COMMANDERS OF OUR ATLANTIC FLEET

Rear-Admiral Henry B. Wilson (to the left in the portrait) has just succeeded Rear-Admiral Henry T. Mayo in command of the American Atlantic Fleet. The new Admiral is saluting the old Admiral as the flag is raised. On the same occasion both Admirals received the French Legion of Honor decoration

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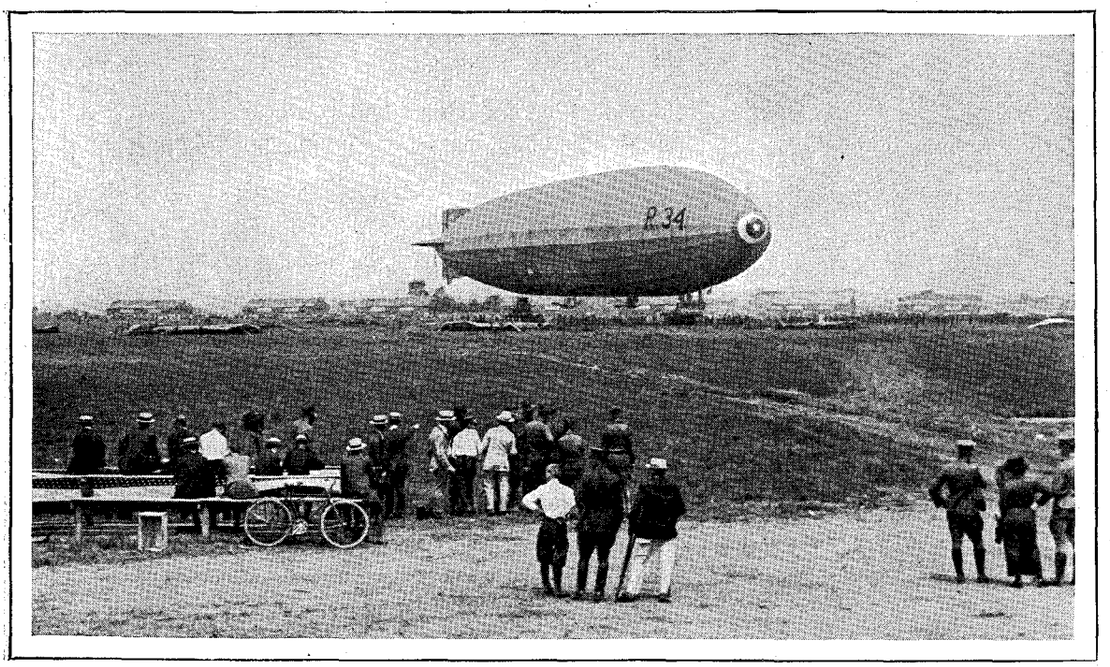

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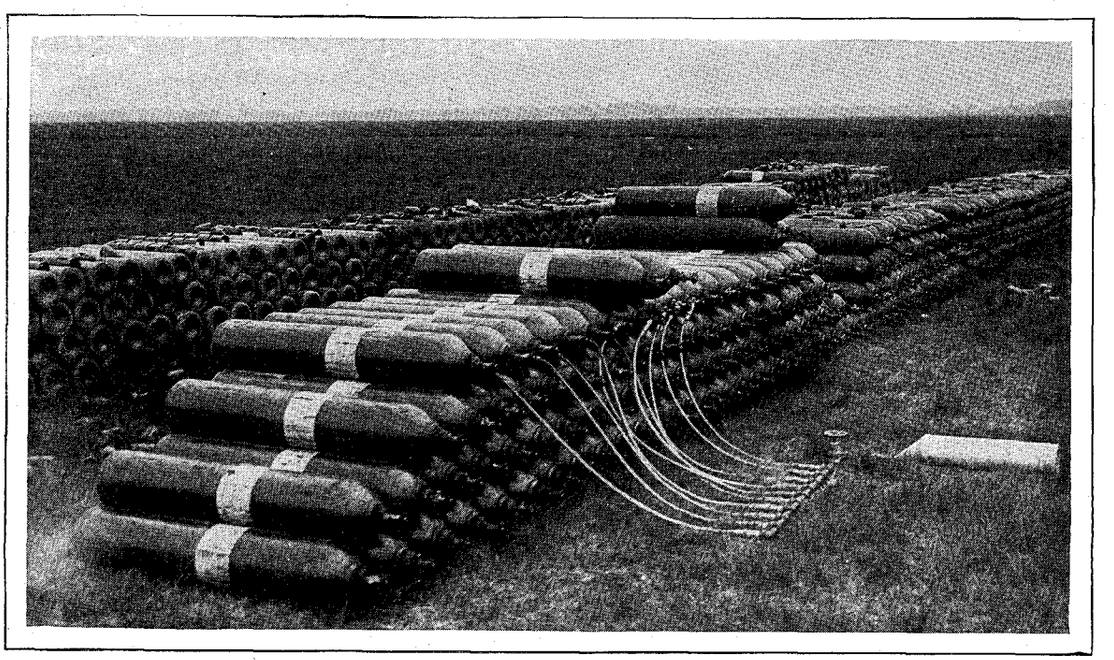
THE ARRIVAL OF THE R-34 AT MINEOLA, LONG ISLAND, ON SUNDAY MORNING, JULY 6, AFTER A TEMPESTUOUS VOYAGE ACROSS THE ATLANTIC

International Film Service

MAJOR G. H. SCOTT, IN COMMAND OF THE R-34 ON HER TRANSATLANTIC VOYAGE. THIRTY-ONE MEN IN ALL MADE THE VOYAGE

International Film Service

LIEUTENANT ZACHARY LANSDOWNE, OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY, WHO BY INVITATION REPRESENTED THIS COUNTRY ON THE VOYAGE



(C) Underwood & Underwood

"GRUB" FOR THE BRITISH DIRIGIBLE. THESE "BOTTLES" OF HYDROGEN GAS MAKE ONE OF A NUMBER OF PILES OF SUCH BOTTLES ASSEMBLED AT ROOSEVELT FIELD, MINEOLA, TO REFILL THE R-34 FOR HER RETURN VOYAGE

THE LARGEST AIRSHIP IN THE WORLD

The British naval dirigible R-34 arrived at Mineola, Long Island, on July 6. An account of the voyage and description of the craft will be found elsewhere

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to-day (June 13) is, "Will she sign the Peace Treaty?"

"Yes," say most people, "she will sign, even though knowing that she cannot execute because she can no longer resist her conquerors by force of arms."

"No," say others, "she will not sign, and for this reason: What the Germans want above all else is protection to person and property. Suppose the German Commissioners sign. The Ebert Government will fall the next day. No government, certainly no Ebert, could stand up against that. What comes in? Perhaps a Haase Government—the Independent Socialists replacing the Majority Socialists. Now, you may be for Haase and not for Ebert, but you must admit that if the majority of Socialists do not protect persons and property better than at present the Minority Socialists could protect not at all. No matter how much new freedom and independence the Haase people might introduce, Germany would drift from bad to worse. There would be anarchy—just what most Germans want to avoid.

"But suppose Germany does not sign. One of two things would occur. Either Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau would place in the hands of the Ententists a decree dividing the German National Assembly and containing the resignation of President Ebert and of all the Ministers and requesting the Ententists to exercise all the sovereign rights of the German state and all the governmental powers; *or* the non-signature would enormously strengthen the present Government, which already gives a certain protection, and of course the Entente Allies would have to extend throughout Germany the protecting Governments which have worked so well in the occupied zones along the Rhine—the people would thus have a double security of law and order."

We outsiders would then have the demonstration of a Society of Nations at work for the ultimate redemption of a morally bankrupt Power.

We could presumably expect a more immediate result, however, in so far as the Treaty is concerned, through its early signing by the various governing forces in Germany. The slight amendments as to frontiers and finance so far admitted to that Treaty proves the desire of those constituting the Society of Nations to act fairly. These amendments are not an admission of weakness, but of strength.

These are the critical days for the Society of Nations. These are the days when it must meet the special conditions arising in America, England, France, Italy, Rumania, Japan, China, in the newly made nations—and in Germany. They are testing the Society's backbone. Has it a real backbone? Has it a real fiber? It has.

At the same time, to demonstrate this to the world it must be permeated by a greater atmosphere of understanding, of less political time-serving, less listening for the next election. There must be, in short, less indecision, more force.

Taken as a whole, however, the Society of Nations is not losing, but gaining, ground.

Paris, June 13, 1919.

THE SIEGE OF BERLIN[1]

A STORY BY ALPHONSE DAUDET

Remote from Prussia as we are, we Americans can understand only through imagination the nature of the Prussian menace; but the French know it, for they are Prussia's neighbors. This is not the first time that France has seen the wearers of the spiked helmet on her soil. This story of Daudet's is not only a prophecy of what is happening in these days, but is also a reminder of the fact that France for many years has been on the frontier of freedom.—THE EDITORS.

WE were going up the Champs Elysées with Doctor V——, gathering from the walls pierced by shell, the pavement plowed by grapeshot, the history of the besieged Paris, when just before reaching the Place de l'Etoile, the doctor stopped and pointed out to me one of those large corner houses so pompously grouped around the Arc de Triomphe.

"Do you see," said he, "those four closed windows on the balcony up there? In the beginning of August, that terrible month of August of '70, so laden with storm and disaster, I was summoned there to attend a case of apoplexy. The sufferer was Colonel Jouve, an old Cuirassier of the First Empire, full of enthusiasm for glory and patriotism, who, at the commencement of the war, had taken an apartment with a balcony in the Champs Elysées—for what do you think? To assist at the triumphal entry of our troops! Poor old man! The news of Wissembourg arrived as he was rising from table. On reading the name of Napoleon at the foot of that bulletin of defeat he fell senseless.

"I found the old Cuirassier stretched upon the floor, his face bleeding and inert as from the blow of a club. Standing, he would have been very tall; lying, he looked immense; with fine features, beautiful teeth, and white curling hair, carrying his eighty years as though they had been sixty. Beside him knelt his granddaughter in tears. She resembled him. Seeing them side by side, they reminded me of two Greek medallions stamped with the same impress, only the one was antique, earth-stained, its outlines somewhat worn; the other beautiful and clear, in all the luster of freshness.

"The child's sorrow touched me. Daughter and granddaughter of soldiers—for her father was on MacMahon's staff—the sight of this old man stretched before her evoked in her mind another vision no less terrible. I did my best to reassure her, though in reality I had but little hope. We had to contend with hæmoptysis, from which at eighty there is small chance of recovery.

"For three days the patient remained in the same condition of immobility and stupor. Meanwhile came the news of Reichshofen — you remember how strangely? Till the evening we all believed in a great victory—twenty thousand Prussians killed, the Crown Prince prisoner.

"I cannot tell by what miracle, by what magnetic current, an echo of this national joy can have reached our poor invalid, hitherto deaf to all around him; but that evening, on approaching the bed, I found a new man. His eye was almost clear, his speech less difficult, and he had the strength to smile and to stammer:

"'Victory, victory.'

"'Yes, Colonel, a great victory.' And as I gave the details of MacMahon's splendid success I saw his features relax and his countenance brighten.

"When I went out his granddaughter was waiting for me, pale and sobbing.

"'But he is saved,' said I, taking her hands.

"The poor child had hardly courage to answer me. The truth as to Reichshofen had just been announced, MacMahon a fugitive, the whole army crushed. We looked at each other in consternation, she anxious at the thought of her father, I trembling for the grandfather. Certainly he would not bear this new shock. And yet what could we do? Let him enjoy the illusion which had revived him? But then we should have to deceive him.

"'Well, then, I will deceive him,' said the brave girl, and hastily wiping away her tears she re-entered her grandfather's room with a beaming face.

"It was a hard task she had set herself. For the first few days it was comparatively easy, as the old man's head was weak, and he was as credulous as a child. But with returning health came clearer ideas. It was necessary to keep him *au courant* with the movements of the army and to invent military bulletins. It was pitiful to see that beautiful girl bending night and day over her map of Germany, marking it with little flags, forcing herself to combine the whole of a glorious campaign—Bazaine on the road to Berlin, Frossard in Bavaria, MacMahon on the Baltic. In all this she asked my counsel, and I helped her as far as I could, but it was the grandfather who did the most for us in this imaginary invasion. He had conquered Germany so often during the

[1] From "Tales from Many Sources," by permission of Dodd, Mead & Co.

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First Empire. He knew all the moves beforehand. 'Now they should go there. This is what they will do,' and his anticipations were always realized, not a little to his pride. Unfortunately, we might take towns and gain battles, but we never went fast enough for the Colonel. He was insatiable. Every day I was greeted with a fresh feat of arms.

"'Doctor, we have taken Mayence,' said the young girl, coming to meet me with a heartrending smile, and through the door I heard a joyous voice crying:

"'We are getting on, we are getting on. In a week we shall enter Berlin.'

"At that moment the Prussians were but a week from Paris. At first we thought it might be better to move to the provinces, but once out of doors, the state of the country would have told him all, and I thought him still too weak, too enervated, to know the truth. It was therefore decided that they should stay where they were.

"On the first day of the investment I went to see my patient—much agitated, I remember, and with that pang in my heart which we all felt at knowing that the gates of Paris were shut, that the war was under our walls, that our suburbs had become our frontiers.

"I found the old man jubilant and proud.

"'Well,' said he, 'the siege has begun.'

"I looked at him, stupefied.

"'How, Colonel, do you know?'

"His granddaughter turned to me, 'Oh, yes, Doctor, it is great news. The siege of Berlin has commenced.'

"She said this composedly, while drawing out her needle. How could he suspect anything? He could not hear the cannon nor see that unhappy Paris, so sullen and disorderly. All that he saw from his bed was calculated to keep up his delusion. Outside was the Arc de Triomphe, and in the room quite a collection of souvenirs of the First Empire. Portraits of marshals, engravings of battles, the King of Rome in his baby robes; the stiff consoles, ornamented with trophies in brass, were covered with Imperial relics, medals, bronzes; a stone from St. Helena under a glass shade; miniatures all representing the same becurled lady, in ball-dress, in a yellow gown with leg-of-mutton sleeves and light eyes; and all—the consoles, the King of Rome, the medals, the yellow ladies with short waists and sashes under their arms—in that style of awkward stiffness which was the grace of 1806. Good Colonel! it was this atmosphere of victory and conquest, rather than all we could say, which made him believe so naïvely in the siege of Berlin.

"From that day our military operations became much simpler. Taking Berlin was merely a matter of patience. Every now and then, when the old man was tired of waiting, a letter from his son was read to him—an imaginary letter, of course, as nothing could enter Paris, and as, since Sedan, MacMahon's aide-de-camp had been sent to a German fortress. Can you not imagine the despair of the poor girl, without tidings of her father, knowing him to be a prisoner, deprived of all comforts, perhaps ill, and yet obliged to make him speak in cheerful letters, somewhat short, as from a soldier in the field, always advancing in a conquered country. Sometimes, when the invalid was weaker than usual, weeks passed without fresh news. But was he anxious and unable to sleep, suddenly a letter arrived from Germany which she read gayly at his bedside, struggling hard with her tears. The Colonel listened religiously, smiling with an air of superiority, approving, criticising, explaining; but it was in the answers to his son that he was at his best. 'Never forget that you are a Frenchman,' he wrote; 'be generous to those poor people. Do not make the invasion too hard for them.' His advice was never ending; edifying sermons about respect of property, the politeness due to ladies—in short, quite a code of military honor for the use of conquerors. With all this he put in some general reflections on politics and the conditions of the peace to be imposed on the vanquished. With regard to the latter, I must say he was not exacting:

"'The war indemnity and nothing else. It is no good to take provinces. Can one turn Germany into France?'

"He dictated this with so firm a voice, and one felt so much sincerity in his words, so much patriotic faith, that it was impossible to listen to him unmoved.

"Meanwhile the siege went on—not the siege of Berlin, alas! We were at the worst period of cold, of bombardment, of epidemic, of famine. But, thanks to our care and the indefatigable tenderness which surrounded him, the old man's serenity was never for a moment disturbed. Up to the end I was able to procure white bread and fresh meat for him, but for him only. You could not imagine anything more touching than those breakfasts of the grandfather, so innocently egotistic, sitting up in bed, fresh and smiling, the napkin tied under his chin, at his side his granddaughter, pale from her privations, guiding his hands, making him drink, helping him to eat all these good, forbidden things. Then, revived by the repast, in the comfort of his warm room, with the wintry wind shut out and the snow eddying about the window, the old Cuirassier would recall his Northern campaigns and would relate to us that disastrous retreat in Russia where there was nothing to eat but frozen biscuit and horseflesh.

"'Can you understand that, little one? We ate horseflesh.'

"I should think she did understand it. For two months she had tasted nothing else. As convalescence approached our task increased daily in difficulty. The numbness of the Colonel's senses, as well as of his limbs, which had hitherto helped us so much, was beginning to pass away. Once or twice already those terrible volleys at the Porte Maillot had made him start and prick up his ears like a warhorse; we were obliged to invent a recent victory of Bazaine's before Berlin and salvoes fired from the Invalides in honor of it. Another day (the Thursday of Buzenval, I think it was) his bed had been pushed to the window, whence he saw some of the National Guard massed upon the Avenue de la Grande Armée.

"'What soldiers are those?' he asked, and we heard him grumbling beneath his teeth:

"'Badly drilled, badly drilled.'

"Nothing came of this, but we understood that henceforth greater precautions were necessary. Unfortunately, we were not careful enough.

"One evening I was met by the child in much trouble.

"'It is to-morrow they make their entry,' she said.

"Could the grandfather's door have been open? In thinking of it since, I remember that all that evening his face wore an extraordinary expression. Probably he had overheard us; only we spoke of the Prussians and he thought of the French, of the triumphal entry he had so long expected, MacMahon descending the Avenue amid flowers and flourish of trumpets, his own son riding beside the marshal, and he himself on his balcony, in full uniform as at Lützen, saluting the ragged colors and the eagles blackened by powder.

"Poor Colonel Jouve! He no doubt imagined that we wished to prevent his assisting at the defile of our troops, lest the emotion should prove too much for him, and therefore took care to say nothing to us; but the next day, just at the time the Prussian battalions cautiously entered the long road leading from the Porte Maillot to the Tuileries, the window up there was softly opened and the Colonel appeared on the balcony with his helmet, his sword, all his long-unused, but glorious apparel of Milhaud's Cuirassiers.

"I often ask myself what supreme effort of will, what sudden impulse of fading vitality, had placed him thus erect in harness.

"All we know is that he was there, standing at the railing, wondering to find the wide avenue so silent, the shutters all closed, Paris like a great lazaret, flags everywhere, but such strange ones, white with red crosses, and no one to meet our soldiers.

"For a moment he may have thought himself mistaken.

"But no! there, behind the Arc de Triomphe, there was a confused sound, a black line advancing in the growing daylight—then, little by little, the spikes of the helmets glisten, the little drums of Jena begin to beat, and under the Arc de l'Etoile, accompanied by the heavy tramp of the troops, by the clatter of sabers, bursts forth Schubert's 'Triumphal March.'

"In the dead silence of the streets was heard a cry, a terrible cry:

"'To arms!—to arms!—the Prussians.' And the four Uhlans of the advance guard might have seen up there, on the balcony, a tall old man stagger, wave his arms, and fall. This time Colonel Jouve was dead."

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WEEKLY OUTLINE STUDY OF CURRENT HISTORY

BY J. MADISON GATHANY, A.M.

HOPE STREET HIGH SCHOOL, PROVIDENCE, R. I.

Based on The Outlook of July 9, 1919

Each week an Outline Study of Current History based on the preceding number of The Outlook will be printed for the benefit of current events classes, debating clubs, teachers of history and of English, and the like, and for use in the home and by such individual readers as may desire suggestions in the serious study of current history.—THE EDITORS.

[Those who are using the weekly outline should not attempt to cover the whole of an outline in any one lesson or study. Assign for one lesson selected questions, one or two propositions for discussion, and only such words as are found in the material assigned. Or distribute selected questions among different members of the class or group and have them report their findings to all when assembled. Then have all discuss the questions together.]

I—INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Topic: Versailles and After; Protests; Ratify the Treaty.

Reference: Pages 389, 390; 393, 394.

Questions:

1. The Germans have signed the Treaty of Peace. What does The Outlook mean in saying: "The United States to-day is still at war with Germany. Not merely technically at war"? 2. What reasons does The Outlook advance for believing that "if this peace is to be a peace of justice, it must be a peace of vigilance"? 3. Give the German people and nation five reasons why they "fail to command the world's respect." 4. Make a list of the protests against the Treaty of Versailles mentioned by The Outlook. Why these protests? Can you add any further protests? 5. Discuss whether China did right in refusing to sign the Treaty. 6. Give as many reasons as you can why the ratification of the Treaty of Versailles is more significant than the ratification of any other treaty in American history. 7. What, according to The Outlook, will the ratification of this Treaty by all the Allied nations mean? Does it seem to you that it will mean all these things? Reasons. 8. Tell what you think of The Outlook's belief as to the result if we fail to accept the treaty and do not enter the League of Nations. 9. Discuss: The Treaty is by no means perfect, but it is a big advance over the diplomatic method of 1914. 10. Give arguments for and against this proposition: America can in the future "render the greatest service to the world if it is allowed to express its opinion as an independent and impartial state as each crisis in civilization arises."

II—NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Topic: Industrial Democracy on Trial.

Reference: Editorial, pages 394–396.

Questions:

1. From this editorial and other sources, state and explain several reasons for industrial unrest. 2. Explain somewhat at length what industrial democracy is. 3. What reasons are there for believing that it is on trial? 4. Give several reasons for believing, now that the war is over, that the first problem which must be solved is industrial reconstruction. 5. How does Mr. John Leitch believe organized industries can be made democratic? 6. Make clear what The Outlook means by saying that industrial democracy is much more than profit-sharing. 7. Labor has been and now generally is excluded from representation in the control of industry. Discuss the results of this. Do you think that labor should be represented in the ownership and management of all businesses? Reasons. 8. Among the schemes advocated for the improvement of social and industrial conditions are communism, Socialism, anarchism, the single tax, and constructive liberalism. Explain briefly the meaning of each and tell your own opinion of these schemes. 9. Discuss whether poverty and pauperism could be banished from the United States in twenty-five years. 10. You would do well to own "Industry and Humanity," by W. L. Mackenzie King (Houghton Mifflin), and "Principles of Political Economy," by T. N. Carver (Ginn). Read also a suggestive book, "Proposed Roads to Freedom," by B. Russell (Henry Holt).

III—LOCAL AFFAIRS

Topic: North Dakota's Rash Adventure.

Reference: Editorial, pages 396, 397.

Questions:

1. What is North Dakota's adventure? The Outlook considers it rash. Do you? Reasons. 2. Furnish proofs for The Outlook's statement: America "is built in such a way as to make experiments comparatively safe and simple." Illustrate by giving not less than one experiment from each of the following phases of public life: social, educational, religious, industrial, and political. 3. Why has North Dakota undertaken this experiment? Explain. 4. What are some of the things that, in your opinion, are against true Americanism? Illustrate your answer. 5. What is State paternalism? Discuss whether we have enough of it in the United States.

IV—PROPOSITIONS FOR DISCUSSION

(These propositions are suggested directly or indirectly by the subject-matter of The Outlook, but not discussed in it.)

1. The Irish question is purely a domestic affair. 2. All true Americans will heartily welcome the return of President Wilson.

V—VOCABULARY BUILDING

(All of the following words and expressions are found in The Outlook for July 9, 1919. Both before and after looking them up in the dictionary or elsewhere, give their meaning *in your own words*. The figures in parentheses refer to pages on which the words may be found.)

Technically, treaty, league, alarmists (389); ratify, negotiate (393); impracticable (394); referendum, eminent domain (396); tinctured, leeches, reactionary (397).

"A GENTLE CYNIC"

Under this title, chosen by Professor Jastrow, of the University of Pennsylvania, for his new theory and new metrical version of the Book of Ecclesiastes, "The Preacher," The Outlook reviewed it in its issue of June 18. As stated then, he regards it as a genial satire by an unknown Hebrew "Omar Khayyám," to which some orthodox critic, or critics, have added comments, amendments, and replies.

It should not be forgotten that in 1905 a more serious and more definite view of that puzzling book was presented by an equally eminent Semitic scholar, Professor Haupt, of Johns Hopkins University. He attributes the genuine portions of it to a Sadducean physician at Jerusalem in the second century B.C. The Epicurean view of life which he inculcated under the pseudonym of King Solomon naturally roused the ire of orthodox critics. The Pharisees, unable to suppress the book, injected into it the neutralizing comments and replies which resulted in its admission, A.D. 90, into the Jewish canon of Holy Scripture. In that dark time for Judaism it may have seemed to those rabbis what Luther in his stormy career declared it—"a book of consolation."

Professor Haupt's metrical version of it, with an Introduction and notes, makes a handsome quarto of forty-seven pages, from the Johns Hopkins Press, price-marked fifty cents. His translation of the passage, "Cast thy bread upon the waters," etc. (xi. 1, 2), is eminently Sadducean and worldly-wise:

"Send thy breadcorn across the water,
Though it take many days—thou wilt regain it;
But apportion it 'twixt seven or eight [ships];
For what may happen, thou knowest not."

J. M. W.

CONFIDENCE RESTORED

The article by F. M. Davenport in The Outlook of June 4 will restore confidence in The Outlook among some of its readers. The friends of the progress of social well-being are not sufficiently numerous in the party of Mr. Davenport and Colonel Roosevelt to keep other friends of social progress assured; the position won by Senators Penrose and Warren and by Congressman Mann in the organization of this Congress is not reassuring; and for that reason the words of Mr. Davenport are timely. Too many periodicals of the class of The Outlook appear to be committed irrevocably to the opposition to Mr. Wilson and have sought to undermine him in the public confidence till protests from their readers forced a change of tone. This article should serve as a warning that there is a section of the Republican following which will not go to all lengths in its distrust of the Democrats as a party without financial convictions and with a "pandering tendency." Does not Mr. Davenport's cross-section of Albany Republican politics show in the Republican party a "pandering tendency"? It is well that The Outlook still stands as the spokesman of the Rooseveltian conscience and warns certain interests that if the poor are not to rob the rich the Republican party will not be permitted to hold the poor while some of the rich rob them.

JOHN MCCARTHY,
Pastor Eastwood Memorial Methodist Church.
Caruthersville, Missouri.

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They couldn't believe it would happen — but it did. And that hospital fire cost the lives of ten bedridden patients and three nurses.

Some five billion dollars of business property has been protected from fire by automatic sprinklers.

State Industrial Commissions are guarding the lives of factory employees by requiring this same unfailing protection in business property.

The United States Government insisted on war industries being so protected.

Are *you* one of the dull public ?

"THERE is not much chance of a fire in a hospital," said the doctor.

"Unless somebody overturns an alcohol stove or unless there is defective wiring—or something happens in the heating plant—or unless—well, I guess I'm getting myself in trouble here," he ended ruefully.

Many other good and useful citizens would say just what this doctor said. You never can know and appreciate fire dangers till you *stop* and think how many, many causes there are, and how worthless ordinary methods of prevention have proved themselves.

Hospitals for the insane with splendid equipment for helping or curing the mentally unfit; hospitals where little crippled children grow strong and learn once more to play; hospitals where the blind are taught trades so they can go back to a happy and natural life; hospitals where wounded heroes are made whole again; all with the finest of modern appliances, light, air, sunshine, heroic doctors and nurses—*but* no fire-fighting apparatus worth mentioning.

Constant exposure to the worst kind of death in institutions *dedicated to humanity*, the world over!

Investigate your own Hospital. Find out for yourself what will mean safety for the patients.

Don't put on your nurses, those fine women already giving their lives to the service of others, the cruel burden of responsibility in case of fire.

See that your hospital is equipped with Grinnell Automatic Sprinkler System. Like a hundred firemen scattered throughout the building, always on the job! When the fire starts, *the water starts*—no chance for the fire to spread.

Read—"*Fire Tragedies and Their Remedy*"

Parents, trustees, or officials will find in "Fire Tragedies and Their Remedy" the unvarnished truth and a path of imperative social service. Write for it today. Address General Fire Extinguisher Company, 289 West Exchange Street, Providence, R. I.

GRINNELL

AUTOMATIC SPRINKLER SYSTEM

When the fire starts the water starts

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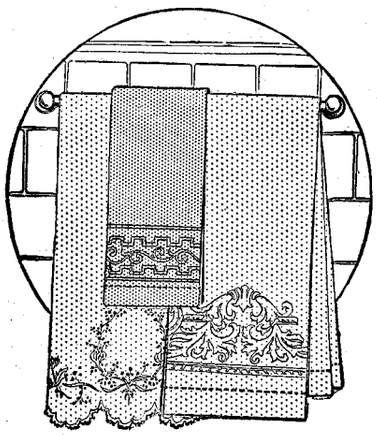
Towels & Bed Linens at McCutcheon's

Reg. Trade-Mark

THE present is a particularly opportune time to lay in a supply of Towels, Sheets, Pillow Cases and other housekeeping Linens for the town house and the country home.



We cannot emphasize too strongly the impossibility of lower prices on Linens for another year at least. The destruction of machinery in Belgium and the failure to plant flax in Russia, make it certain that the world's supply of Linens will be far short of the demand for a long time to come.

The Luxury Tax does not apply to Linens

Linen Towels

Hemstitched Guest Towels, $7.50 to 13.50 doz.

Bedroom and Bathroom Towels, $9.00 to 24.00 doz.

Hemstitched Pure Linen Sheets

Single-bed size, $16.50 to 50.00 per pair.

Double-bed size, $13.50 to 60.00 per pair.

Hemstitched Pure Linen Pillow Cases

22½ x 36 inches, $3.50 to 7.50 per pair.

Bath Towels, Mats, Etc.

Hemmed Bath Towels, $4.20 to 22.50 doz.

Hemstitched Bath Towels, $21.00 to 30.00 doz.

Bath Sheets, 52 x 69 inches, $3.50 each, 60 x 72 inches, 5.50 each.

Bath Mats, $1.00 to 3.25 each.

Kitchen Towels, $3.25 to 9.50 doz.

Glass Towels, $6.00, 7.00 and 7.50 doz.

Roller Towels, $1.00, 1.30, 1.40 each.

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THE NEW BOOKS

This Department will include descriptive notes, with or without brief comments, about books received by The Outlook. Many of the important books will have more extended and critical treatment later

FICTION

All the Brothers Were Valiant. By Ben Ames Williams. The Macmillan Company, New York.

A story of love and sea adventure of quite unusual vigor and imaginative vividness. There is tragedy in the situations, but there is also the record of high purpose and dauntless character.

Black Sheep Chapel. By Margaret Baillie-Saunders. The George H. Doran Company, New York.

Black Sheep Chapel was originally Bank Chepe [market] Chapel, and was once owned by the London Vintners' Company. It becomes a ritualistic church and its sacristan, a dealer in sawdust, and his adopted son, whom he means to offer as a second Samuel to the divine service, are chief among the novel's characters. One might expect a story of pietism or propaganda; on the contrary, the novel is intensely human and has a good deal of gentle irony. It is decidedly original and well written.

Foreign Magic. Tales of Every-Day China. By Jean Carter Cochran. Illustrated. The George H. Doran Company, New York.

Too many books about the Chinese make them seem utterly alien and almost unhuman; this book brings the reader into sympathetic touch with the kindly traits of the race as seen by one whose own spiritual attributes bring out the best in her Chinese friends. This is the "Foreign Magic" that wins and transforms the individuals described in these tales of Chinese life.

Haunted Bookshop (The). By Christopher Morley. Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City.

A story that begins so realistically that the reader is impelled to take down the telephone book to get the address of the haunted bookshop. The tale starts quietly enough to please the most scholastic bookworm, but ends with thrills that will satisfy the most exacting lover of melodrama.

Saint's Progress. By John Galsworthy. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

In the delicacy yet firmness of its fictional art this may be classed with Mr. Galsworthy's best novels. Never once does the reader's interest falter, never once do the four or five principal characters lose definite outline and human reality. Passion, sorrow, disillusionment, and perplexity are here in abundance. The war's effects in England are generalized, by intimation at least, as being disheartening and morally relaxing. Not all people will agree with the soundness of all this shadowy intimation. The progress which Mr. Galsworthy's Saint (a sweet-natured parson) makes is not an advance in faith, hope, and patriotism, but a shaking of his archaic theological dogmas and a confusion of mind as to England's social future.

BOOKS FOR YOUNG FOLKS

Boy Scouts Book of Stories (The). Edited by Franklin K. Mathiews. Illustrated. D. Appleton & Co., New York.

The Boy Scout must be abnormal indeed if he doesn't find this book to his liking. It contains stories selected from the works of O. Henry, R. L. Stevenson, Arthur Conan Doyle, Mark Twain, Joseph C. Lincoln, and other writers who know boys and how to write boys' stories. It is safe to say that it will soon become a well-

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The New Books (Continued)

thumbed book in any place where it falls within the reach of a group of boys.

Joyous Travelers (The). By Maud Lindsay and Emilie Poulsson. Illustrated. The Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Company, Boston.

Nice stories, nice pictures, nice verses for nice children to read or have read to them about bedtime. Pleasant dreams are sure to follow, for these fairy stories are old-fashioned enough to have happy endings and new-fashioned enough to rouse and keep the interest of all children who love an imaginative tale.

BIOGRAPHY

Iron Hunter (The). By Chase S. Osborn. Illustrated. The Macmillan Company, New York.

The "iron hunter" sought and found iron mines with much success; and when, in their turn, the people of Michigan were hunting for a capable man for Governor, they found the "iron hunter" and elected him. The story of his life as here told will thrill all progressive Americans; it is replete with stirring incidents and is told with dramatic effect.

Journal of a Disappointed Man (The). By W. N. P. Barbellion. Introduction by H. G. Wells. The George H. Doran Company, New York.

Mr. Wells in his preface says: "In this diary of an intensely egotistical young naturalist, tragically caught by the creeping approach of death, we have one of the most moving aspects of our universal struggle." The diary is in fact moving and also depressing, but the reader is saved from being steeped in gloom by the acuteness of the writer's comment on men and life. The book is morbid and feverish but brilliant. Is it disguised fiction or actual diary, or a mingling of both? Most people who read Marie Bashkirtseff's journal will inevitably be reminded of that singular ebullition, not by the matter but by the manner of this diary. So when, half-way through the book, Barbellion discovers Marie and declares, "She is the very spit of me," one wonders whether this is not a device whereby the author forestalls a natural comment. At any rate, it is certainly true that, as Barbellion says: "She feels as I feel. We have the same self-absorption, the same vanity and corroding ambition. She is impressionable, volatile, passionate—ill! So am I." Whatever its inner history, the book has a fascination of its own, dismal as its ending is.

***Life of John Redmond* (The).** By Warre B. Wells. Illustrated. The George H. Doran Company, New York.

A sympathetic yet judicial account of the life of one of Ireland's recent leaders. The book is largely, and necessarily, a history of Irish politics during the last generation; it is singularly fair-minded, and will make a strong appeal to people who wish to study the question of Home Rule dispassionately and with open minds.

HISTORY, POLITICAL ECONOMY, AND POLITICS

Bolshevism. By John Spargo. Harper & Brothers, New York.

We do not know of any book which describes so accurately and so judicially what Bolshevism is, how it differs from Socialism, how it differs from democracy, and what were the conditions and events in Russia out of which it has grown. John Spargo is a Socialist—in our judgment, the most intelligent and fair-minded of any modern writer on the subject. He is English-born and has the Anglo-Saxon belief in law and order. He is an idealist, and in that respect has a faith which is in

Film On Teeth Proves Your Way Wrong

All Statements Approved by High Dental Authorities

That's the Tooth-Destroyer

Millions know that well-brushed teeth still discolor and decay. Tartar forms on them, pyorrhea starts. The tooth brush has proved itself inadequate. Statistics show that tooth troubles have constantly increased.

Dentists long have known the reason, but not a home way to combat it. The trouble lies in a film—that slimy film which you feel with your tongue. It clings to the teeth, gets into crevices, hardens and stays. And that film causes most tooth troubles.

The film is what discolors, not the teeth. It is the basis of tartar. It holds food substance which ferments and forms acid. It holds the acid in contact with the teeth to cause decay.

Millions of germs breed in it. They, with tartar, are the chief cause of pyorrhea.

One great dental question for years has been, how to combat that film. A dental cleaning removes it, but the great need is to fight it day by day.

Science has now found the way. Able authorities have amply proved it by convincing clinical tests. Leading dentists all over America have proved it and adopted it. Now that method is embodied in a dentifrice called Pepsodent. And we let everybody prove it by a ten-day home test free.

See What Clean Teeth Mean

Teeth in general, though brushed daily, are not clean. That's why tooth troubles come. Use a 10-Day Tube of Pepsodent and see the difference for yourself. It will be a revelation.

Pepsodent is based on pepsin, the digestant of albumin. The film is albuminous matter. The object of Pepsodent is to dissolve it, then to constantly combat it.

That seems a simple method. But pepsin must be activated, and the usual agent is an acid harmful to the teeth. So pepsin long seemed forbidden. What science now has done is to find a harmless activating method. Five governments have already granted patents. It is that method, used in Pepsodent, which has solved this great tooth problem.

The proof is quick and easy. Within ten days you will gain a new light on teeth cleaning, and that's important both to you and yours.

Send the coupon for a 10-Day Tube. Use like any tooth paste. Note how clean the teeth feel after using. Mark the absence of the slimy film. See how the teeth whiten as the fixed film disappears.

Compare this method with your present method. Look at your teeth in ten days. Then let the evident results tell you what to do. There will be no need for argument.

Cut out the coupon now.

Pepsodent PAT. OFF. REG. U.S.

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A scientific tooth paste based on activated pepsin. An efficient film combatant, now endorsed by dentists everywhere and sold by druggists in large tubes.

Ten-Day Tube Free

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THE NATION'S INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

Believing that the advance of business is a subject of vital interest and importance, The Outlook will present under the above heading frequent discussions of subjects of industrial and commercial interest. This department will include paragraphs of timely interest and articles of educational value dealing with the industrial upbuilding of the Nation. Comment and suggestions are invited.

PREPARATION FOR GAS DEFENSE

Now that the war is over, many interesting stories can be made public of the quick and efficient response of manufacturers to the Government's requirements of war material. Many large plants were, almost overnight, converted wholly or in part to the manufacture of army supplies, and this instant co-operation contributed in large measure to the success of our forces abroad.

An interesting story appeared recently in the "Colgate Clock," published by Colgate & Co., telling of the part this company played in the preparation for gas defense. We believe that the following excerpts from this article will be of interest to our readers:

The modern gas mask, as every one knows, has two eyepieces—lenses made of glass or celluloid or a combination of both. It is essential that these be clean and bright as long as the mask is in actual use. Should they for any reason become clouded, the soldier is as helpless as though he were blind. The difficulty in keeping these eyepieces clear seemed insurmountable—moisture from the breath would collect on them, making it impossible to see clearly through them.

The need of an anti-dimming material was recognized by the War Department in preparing equipment for the first overseas fighting contingent, and the men charged with the task of procuring it approached Colgate & Co. for a solution of the problem.

With alacrity, of course, they agreed to do their utmost. During the next few days following the Government's request experiment after experiment was made and many things were tried. No trouble or expense was spared. Finally a compound was found which met all tests. After treatment with this compound the lenses remained clear even when the mask was put to the same arduous test that it would meet in the field of warfare.

While the tests were proceeding a special die had been made for stamping out the tubes in which the compound was to be packed. (In its early days the compound was in the form of a paste, like a shaving or dental cream, and a special tube was required.) The formula was perfected and the manufacture of the compound was begun, and in a very short time a large quantity was ready for shipment. Not only was the quiet work of those experimental days a vital help in defeating the enemy, but the mechanical feat of turning out thousands upon thousands of tubes in a few days was remarkable.

Wishing to keep nothing secret from the Government that might help, the formula of the first anti-dimming preparation was turned over to them. This was for the double purpose of facilitating improvement and posting the Government on just what they were using. In the very beginning a stick form for the compound had been suggested as being more practical and quicker to manufacture. The Research branch of the War Department became greatly interested in the work, and able chemists sought to procure an even better compound—one that would not fail even with careless application—and an anti-dimming stick was soon decided upon. It was about two inches long and half an inch thick, wrapped except for one end in tinfoil, and packed with a small piece of cotton flannel in a round tin box. These sticks were turned out at the rate of 100,000 a day, a task involving much labor and skill.

The method of applying the anti-dimming compound was simple. A small quantity was rubbed over the eye-pieces, which were afterwards polished with the flannel cloth. After this treatment the moisture, instead of collecting in drops, spread over the glass in a thin sheet which did not affect its transparency in the least.

As the effect of one application lasted for days, one stick should have been enough for a lifetime. But unfortunately the little tin box, which was sturdy and well made, presented to the doughboy alluring possibilities as a holder for matches or cigarettes—and away went the stick. It was necessary to have sufficient sticks to replace any that were lost.

The other substance, known as Sag Paste, was used to combat the frightful mustard gas, which was used so extensively during the latter part of the war. This gas, which, strictly speaking, was not a gas at all but a volatile liquid, not only affected the throat and lungs, but where it penetrated the clothing caused serious burns—especially where the skin was damp from perspiration.

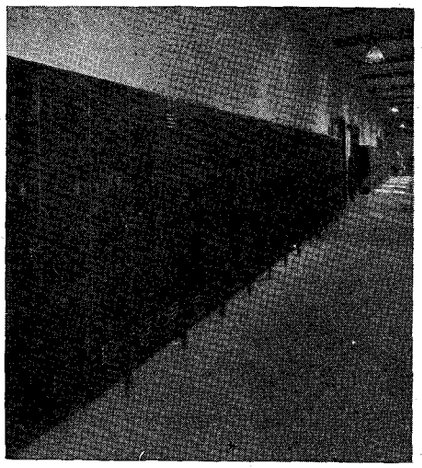
The German drive to the Marne in 1918 was made largely with this gas. Shells were filled with it, which on exploding often killed everything in the vicinity. As the gas mask protected only the face, something was needed to prevent the gas reaching the body. An important problem suddenly confronted the Army, and the Commander-in-Chief cabled to Washington urging that something be found to counteract the effects of mustard gas and shipped abroad as soon as possible.

A preparation was thus sought that would protect the skin against the burning action of the gas. Haste was the first consideration, and the first experiments were made with materials which were procurable at once in large quantities. Various ointments were tried out on volunteers, who allowed themselves to be exposed to the gas, first rubbing the ointment on the skin. One of the ointments which was submitted was found to give the needed protection, and its manufacture was begun with all haste. The Sag Paste was packed in special large tin tubes, seven inches long and an inch and a half in diameter, and large quantities were prepared and shipped in June—the month in which the need first became apparent.

The manufacture of Sag Paste was continued until the signing of the armistice. An idea of the gigantic scale on which this work was carried out, which will also give a hint of its importance as a war measure, can be gained from the fact that hundreds of tons of Sag Paste were made and shipped and several car-loads of pure block tin used in the manufacture of the tubes.

Why the name "Sag Paste"? The word "gas" spelled backwards!

DURAND
STEEL LOCKERS



Are You Proud of Your Plant?

IF you are not, you may be sure that your employees are not.

And they ought to be—if they are to put the spirit into their work that spells success for you.

Better lighting, heating, and ventilation; better sanitation; bonus and profit-sharing systems, are some of the means used to foster this spirit today.

And Durand Steel Lockers

Write for Catalogue of steel lockers, or of steel racks, bins and counters, etc.

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The New Books (Continued)

sharp contrast to such Socialists as Morris Hillquit. He believes that the present wages system is economically unsound and ethically unjust, and he wishes for its overturn; but he wishes to change present social conditions because they work deterioration of character in all classes in society. The change in conditions is a means to an end; the end to be sought is the recognition of the obligation of social duty resting on every member of society and the door of opportunity for self-development open to every member of society, and therefore liberty, equality, and fraternity for all. Bolshevism denies that the obligations of the moral law rest on the proletariat if they come into power, or that the door of opportunity should be open to the property-owners and the intellectuals in case a proletariat government is organized. The Bolsheviki do not want liberty for the people; they want power for themselves. To a rational Socialist, to a real democrat, no indictment of Bolshevism could be more conclusive than Lenine's own definition of it, which John Spargo quotes: "Just as one hundred and fifty thousand lordly landowners under Czarism dominated the one hundred and thirty millions of Russian peasants, so two hundred thousand members of the Bolshevist party are imposing their proletarian will on the mass, but this time in the interest of the latter." This book is to be recommended not only to editors, preachers, and teachers who have to deal with the problems which the Bolshevist revolution has brought before the world, but to all Americans who really wish to know what Bolshevism is, how it sprang into being, and how men of sanity and good morals should deal with it and with the conditions which have given it birth.

Mexico Under Carranza. By Thomas Edward Gibbon. Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City.

Mr. Gibbon agrees with other Americans who have studied existing conditions by actual, extended observation that Carranza's Government is not preserving order, protecting property, or substantially aiding the peons, who make up eighty per cent of the population. His indictment against the present régime is both severe and specific.

Problem of the Pacific (The). By C. Brunsdon Fletcher. Preface by the Right Hon. Sir William MacGregor. Henry Holt & Co., New York.

The Australian author of "The New Pacific" in this new work adds materially to his former discussion of world questions. His chapter on "Two Ideas of Empire," comparing German and British ideas, is illuminating. In reply to the question, "Will a beaten Germany be a converted Germany?"—that is, as to just colonial administration—he replies: "The Germany we know has been bred into a bully and a world-pirate through generations of successful buccaneering, and it will take generations for the new Germany to unlearn the lessons of its failure." The discussion of the relations of Australia to India and Japan is valuable in suggestion and exposition.

WAR BOOKS

History of the Great War (A). By Arthur Conan Doyle. Vol. IV. The George H. Doran Company, New York.

This volume covers the story of the British campaign in France and Flanders in 1917, ending with the battle of Cambrai. It is chiefly a military history and has too much technical detail for the general reader, although touches of drama and color are to be found here and there.

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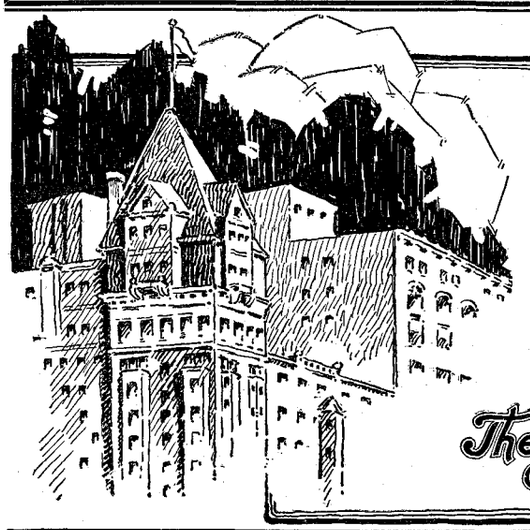

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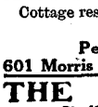

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WANTED Furnished or unfurnished house, four chambers, within 30 minutes of Boston, near good school. Cambridge or Belmont preferred. H. Leland Lowe, 147 Milk St., Boston, Mass.

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HELP WANTED

Business Situations
WANTED—Competent woman as stenographer and private secretary to manager of large hotel. Year round position with good pay to competent person. Address, with references and experience, 7,112, Outlook.
EMBROIDERERS on infants' flannels; work sent out of town. Barringer, 29 East 31st St., New York.
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WANTED—Competent teachers for public and private schools. Calls coming every day. Send for circulars. Albany Teachers' Agency, Albany, N. Y.
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SITUATIONS WANTED

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SECRETARYSHIP in boys' school wanted by widow with boy of seven where child will have privilege of education as part of compensation. Ten years' secretarial experience and highest references. 7,100, Outlook.

Companions and Domestic Helpers
COLLEGE girl wishes care of children during summer. Excellent references. 7,146, Outlook.
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KINDERGARTNER, young, also experienced in secretary work, would be useful companion to lady at shore or mountain for summer in return for board and room. Would travel in return for expenses. Good health. Excellent references. 7,144, Outlook.
WIDOW desires supervising elderly gentleman's home. South winters. References. 7,103, Outlook.

Teachers and Governesses
COLLEGE woman, teacher and lecturer-demonstrator of cookery, desires non-resident school position, September, 1919. References. 7,148, Outlook.

MISCELLANEOUS
M. W. Wightman & Co. Shopping Agency, established 1895. No charge; prompt delivery. 44 West 22d St., New York.
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BY THE WAY

Personally conducted round-the-world trips are again being planned by the tourist agencies, after a long interim caused by the war. The announcements read alluringly, but, alas! the prices have gone up after the prevailing fashion. One trip of this sort, lasting nearly eight months, will cost $5,875! And even at this figure, the announcement says, "rooms with private bath cannot be guaranteed."

The continued high prices of food are hit off by "Pêle-Mêle," of Paris, in two pictures. One presents a bill of fare for 1918, somewhat thus: "Sirloin, 3 francs; peas, 1.25; coffee, 1 franc—It is the war!" The other itemizes the 1919 situation thus: "Beef, 3 francs; beans, 1.25; coffee, 1 franc—It is the peace!"

The American tourist who said of Niagara Falls, "Gosh! that's neat!" is matched by a Scotch tourist at the Pyramids, who, according to "Harper's Magazine," said, as he gazed at the stupendous pile, "Ah, mon, what a lot o' mason-work not to be bringing in any rent!"

Houses and apartments seem to be scarce in cities on the other side of the Atlantic as well as here, as a result of the suspension of building during the war. Here are two humorous indications of the shortage. From a British weekly: "Lady—'How was it you lost your job?' Tramp—'Well, mum, I was a nartist, I was—used ter paint them "To Let" notices.'" From a Christiania (Norway) weekly: "Have you a room to let?" "Yes, but I entertain applications only from night editors who are out all day."

"There were probably not more than two professional oil geologists in Oklahoma at the time of the discovery of the Ponca anticline," says a book on the oil-producing country. "Now, a few years later, every big company has its staff of geologists, some companies employing two or three hundred men in that work alone. The State University is turning out big classes of geologists every year." One of the oil wells in western Oklahoma produces five hundred barrels a day from a depth of 4,000 feet. This is said to be the deepest producing oil well in the State.

The Osage Indian Reservation in Oklahoma, according to the above-quoted authority, is the least developed region yet remaining in the State. It is rich in oil, and its development is just beginning. It is owned by the Osage tribe of Indians—probably the richest population, individually, in the world. They number about 2,200. "Each Indian is estimated to be worth $50,000. Each one draws about $5,000 a year from the treasury of the tribe. They are still a band of blanketed Indians, yet a family of five can spend $25,000 a year."

The old saying, "Many hands make light work," receives a modern exemplification in the news item that the war-ship Wyoming was painted from stem to stern in forty minutes. Eight hundred "gobs" went over the vessel's sides with paint brushes and pots, and gave the ship, 585 feet long, its new dress in this time, which is said to constitute a record for such work.

A. W. L. sends a suggestion to ward off an attack of the blues: "If any of your women readers ever get despondent in these days of high prices and low spirits after the tension of war times, I would advise them to go up into the garret (if they are fortunate enough to have one) with a like-minded pal and put on the discarded hats of yesteryear and before. I did this the other day when the blues were impending, and my sister and I screamed ourselves red in the face with the ridiculous appearance we made in the fashions of a decade back. Try it! You've no idea how much fun you'll get out of it."

Two domiciliary memorials to great Americans are being planned at present—one to Theodore Roosevelt, the other to Horace Greeley. The Roosevelt memorial will take the form of a restoration of his birthplace, 28 East Twentieth Street, New York City, and the Woman's Roosevelt Memorial Association is now asking for contributions of a million dollars for purchasing and remodeling the property. The Greeley memorial is to consist of a similar restoration of the house in East Poultney, Vermont, in which Greeley learned the printing trade. It has been purchased by the Vermont Press Association and will be used as a museum of material relating to the great journalist's career.

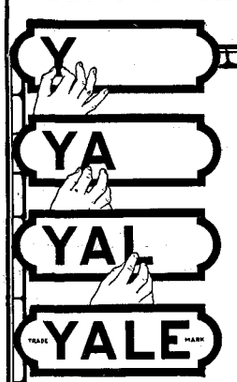
While the houses spoken of above are thus in the way of being preserved, the announcement is made that the residence of Alexander Hamilton at 122 William Street, New York City, is to be demolished to make way for an office building. Washington is said to have used this old house as one of his numerous "headquarters" before the British occupation of New York City during the Revolution. Hamilton occupied it after independence was won, and then moved "uptown" to Hamilton Grange, where he lived until the duel took place which resulted in his death.

Bears, like pigeons and cats, have an instinct for "homing," it seems. In his book on "The Grizzly" Mr. E. A. Mills quotes this story about a pet bear: "He had been teased by a visiting ranchman. When the ranchman had been reassembled and revived, it was decided that the bear must be 'lost.' He was led two hundred miles from the ranch and bidden to go his way. His return to the ranch preceded that of his keeper by eight hours. He was led [from Wyoming] to the mountains of Idaho, and the duration of his return journey not improbably is still the minimum record for that course. Finally two admirers conducted him to Oregon and there parted with him forever."

Mr. Mills gives the grizzly a good character, saying that he rarely attacks man. When brought to bay, however, he is a courageous fighter. This incident is cited in proof. A grizzly was chased by dogs and hunters into a box canyon. The bear fought the dogs with coolness and resource while the hunters waited for a chance to shoot. When the dogs attacked him from behind or at the side, he brushed them off without turning his eyes from the front. At a favorable moment he charged, scattering the dogs and killing two of them, disabling two horses, breaking a man's arm, and making good his escape before the demoralized party could fire a shot!

A palpable hit on the manners of many individuals among the traveling public in this land of democracy is the following from the Washington "Star:" "I can't understand," said Uncle Eben, "why some folks think de only way to show dey's jes' as good as anybody is to act disagreeable."

Attacked with Axes
but still on the Job



It lived up to its reputation

THIS Yale Padlock, on guard over a printing shop, was powerfully attacked with axes which cut, dented and battered it *but could not break its grip.*

Your "Yale" may never have to meet the test of assault or the malicious attempt to get by. But you know that it is always on guard, sturdy and unyielding, ready to meet the test when it comes.

Correct construction, in both materials and design, assures the reliability and endurance of Yale padlocks and of every other lock bearing the trade-mark Yale. "Yale" will not fail to protect.

Go to your hardware dealer for the Yale padlocks you need. You can make sure by SEEING the trade-mark on each one. It is always on Yale products, including Yale Night Latches, Door Closers, Builders' Locks and Hardware, Cabinet Locks, Bank Locks and Chain Blocks.

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9 East 40th Street New York City
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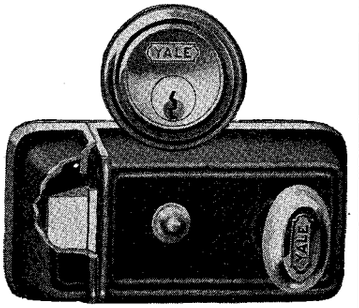

The Yale Cylinder Night Latch is another Yale Product equally capable of withstanding malicious attack.

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Dr. Esenwein

One pupil has received over $5,000 for stories and articles written mostly in spare time—"play work," he calls it. Another pupil received over $1,000 before completing her first course. Another, a busy wife and mother, is averaging over $75 a week from photoplay writing alone.

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